

ETHNOGEOGRAPHY OF THE PLAINS MIWOK  
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## PREFACE

The present work is a revised version of my doctoral dissertation in anthropology on the ethnogeography of the Plains Miwok (Bennyhoff 1961), completed at the University of California, Berkeley. As originally conceived, this study was to have been only an introductory chapter in a comparative analysis of the Late Horizon, the latest prehistoric period recognized in Central California. As my review of the available archaeological record proceeded, it became evident that distinct geographical variants of a widespread cultural pattern could be defined, with new temporal subphases. However, to properly evaluate the environmental versus cultural significance of these new archaeological complexes, it was essential to resolve the controversial boundary problems which ethnographers had reported for the Plains Miwok and their neighbors. Hence, my focus of investigation shifted from the archaeological remains to the previously neglected historical documents. Varied exploration diaries, mission records, maps and reminiscences provided information on the aboriginal inhabitants of the San Francisco Bay and adjacent Delta regions between 1769 and about 1860 which could be used to reduce the confusion evident in the later ethnographic reports. In particular, it was concluded that female personal names recorded in the mission registers could be used to establish the linguistic affiliation of many disputed tribelets. Thus the completed dissertation dealt with an integration of the ethnohistorical and late archaeological data as they pertained to the Plains Miwok. It was proposed that relatively firm linguistic boundaries could be drawn for this group which did correlate with culturally defined archaeological districts.

The dissertation was revised for publication in 1976. The major change has been the incorporation of most of the original endnotes into the text, and an attempt has been made to add new ethnohistorical sources published since 1960. The most notable of these involved the publication of material which I had originally consulted in manuscript form (Cook 1960, 1962; Merriam 1966-1970). The discussion of the Wapumne Nisenan has been modified on the basis of new details provided by Uldall and Shipley (1966), and the treatment of the Siakumne and Tauhalame Yokuts has been expanded. Few changes have been made in the discussion of the southwestern boundary, although more intensive study of Bay Miwok and Costanoan groups is definitely needed. Map 2, herein, is a revision of Bennyhoff (1967), but the placement of many Costanoan groups is still very uncertain.

No attempt has been made herein to discuss the many complex problems involved in Plains Miwok demography. Recent unpublished studies by Chester King and R. Milliken indicate that analysis of the original mission records is essential to eliminate the numerous errors contained in the abstracts made by S. R. Clemence and A. Pinart. It may be noted that Baumhoff (1963: 215, 221) suggested that the aboriginal Plains Miwok population was roughly 14,500 persons. If the 28 tribelets proposed herein is correct, Baumhoff's total population would yield an average tribelet size of over 500 persons. My present feeling (based on the few house counts available and the size of exhausted tribelets within the mission orbit) is that the average tribelet in the Delta numbered closer to 300 persons, but this is another problem worthy of additional study.



I wish to express my deepest appreciation to Professor John H. Rowe, Professor René F. Millon, and Professor William F. Shipley for the encouraging assistance given without regard for personal inconvenience in the preparation of the original dissertation. Each read the initial and final drafts, and their constructive criticisms resulted in substantial improvements in content, organization, and structure. I am especially indebted to Professor Rowe, not only for his excellent guidance of all aspects of this project, but for his enduring instruction in the field of anthropology as well. Stimulating discussions of interpretive problems with Professor Millon were extremely rewarding, and his penetrating comments eliminated many ambiguities in this work. Professor Shipley was of particular help in the evaluation of personal names and the clarification of many linguistic uncertainties.

I would like also to acknowledge a special debt to Professor Robert F. Heizer, who first introduced me to the intriguing problems of ethnogeography and archaeology, and who, in large measure, directed my training and research as a graduate student. He supervised my work on the archaeological relationships which prompted the present study, and provided all manner of assistance in my research on the prehistory of Central California. Professor Heizer also gave both cogent advice and specific information on local ethnohistorical problems.

I greatly appreciate the grants given to me by the Committee on Research of the University of California, with which I was able to obtain radiocarbon dates of crucial importance in the evaluation of protohistoric and prehistoric cultural phases.

For having provided me with pertinent manuscript or verbal information, I want to thank Brigham Arnold, Martin A. Baumhoff, Catherine Callaghan, Sherburne F. Cook, Donald C. Cutter, James T. Davis, Larry E. Dawson, Albert B. Elsasser, Franklin Fenenga, Chester King, William Olsen, Arnold R. Pilling, Harvey Pitkin, Richard Reeve, and Francis A. Riddell. For less specific but no less important assistance, I express my gratitude to the many other individuals at the University of California - particularly those associated with the Department and Museum of Anthropology, the former Archaeological Survey, and Bancroft Library - who have aided in the completion of this study.

Finally, I acknowledge my special appreciation to those individuals who assisted in the preparation of this study for publication. Were it not for the urging and consideration of Professor David A. Fredrickson, the present revision would not have been attempted. I am particularly indebted to the editor, Richard E. Hughes, whose tireless energy and firm belief that revision was possible overcame my frequent waverings. I thank Jon E. Ericson and Professor Rainer Berger of the UCLA Radiocarbon Lab for permission to publish the radiocarbon dates from CCo-30. Map 4a, herein, is published with the permission of the Director of Bancroft Library. I am grateful to Jennie Goodrich for her careful drafting of the maps. While many associates have contributed to this study, I take full responsibility for the content and revised format.



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## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

The problem under investigation in this study is the ethnogeography of the Plains Miwok Indians, the aboriginal inhabitants of the Central Valley of California in the general region of the lower Mokelumne and Cosumnes Rivers, a short distance to the northeast of San Francisco Bay. Though the existence of the group is demonstrated by vocabularies and the testimony of their neighbors, so few speakers of the language survived into the period when scientific study began that little is known of their culture, and their territorial boundaries have been the subject of more disagreement than those of any other group in California. Once credited with most of the central portion of the Great Valley, they have also been reduced out of existence by acceptance of the conflicting claims of the neighboring Yokuts and Nisenan Indians. While Kroeber's (1925: Pl. 37) compromise solution to this problem has been generally accepted as the most nearly correct, he was never satisfied with his proposed southern or western boundaries. His most recent statement is most cogent:

... I am now convinced that no one making inquiries between 1895 and 1915 could have ascertained from the surviving San Joaquin Valley Indians their pre-Mission tribal habitats with any reliability. The locations they gave Merriam and me were surely post-Secularization... I believe that the original location of their settlements, and frequently the determination of their speech, can be had for the lower San Joaquin Valley region as for all the Costano only from analysis of preserved mission period documents (Kroeber 1959b:273).

The Plains Miwok were recognized as a distinct linguistic group as early as 1806 when the first Spanish exploratory expedition, under Moraga, entered their territory. A vocabulary from one of their villages, Talatui, was included in the collection made by the Wilkes expedition of 1841, and the language was thus represented in the first publication of linguistic data from California (Hale 1846). Unfortunately, the speakers of Plains Miwok were situated at the northeastern extremity of the Mission Strip and at the western edge of the Mother Lode. Devastated by disease and the altered life pattern which accompanied conversion to Christianity, the Plains Miwok survivors of missionization were completely overwhelmed by the wave upon wave of gold seekers who arrived in and after 1850. The cultural extinction of the Indian group was essentially complete 30 years later. Despite the vast difference in motivation, the ultimate effect of Christian zeal was far more fatal to the native population than was the mad fervor of the argonauts, for few of the western and southern neighbors of the Plains Miwok, living closer to the compounds of the five established missions, ever returned to their native lands after mission secularization in 1834-1836.

By the time systematic investigators took an interest in the former Indian cultures only a handful of aged and displaced informants could be found who had any knowledge of the aboriginal settlements in the region of San Francisco Bay and the adjacent Delta. As a result the territorial boundaries



which separated the Costanoan, Patwin, Yokuts and Miwok groups have never been agreed upon, and scores of village names mentioned in the historical documents have always been of unknown or disputed ethnic affiliation. Farther north, near the American River, the disrupted conditions which followed Sutter and the Gold Rush also produced an uncertain Miwok and Nisenan boundary.

Most of the attempts to cope with the ethnogeographic problems of the central coast and valley have relied on the dimming recollections of Indians living between 1900 and 1930. A few of the informants were actual survivors of the mission period, more were descendants of these, and most were Sierran foothill or Coast Range neighbors of the groups involved. It is small wonder that the corpus of geographic detail collected 50 to more than 100 years after the obliteration of aboriginal settlements is grossly incomplete, often uncertain, and frequently conflicting.

Two other sources of evidence remain: historical records and archaeological sites. The ethnographers made little use of the many historical documents which refer to the inhabitants of this central region between 1769 and 1850. Admirable as beginnings, the ethnohistorical studies of Schenck and Cook were based on incomplete data which resulted in a number of faulty interpretations, and both failed to cope with the problem of the ethnic affiliation of the villages referred to in the documents. In these two earlier attempts to map the aboriginal groups in the Delta region, major emphasis was placed on the accounts of explorations. Though Cook was the first to make use of the mission baptismal records for ethnogeographic analysis, he attempted no detailed study of the dates of baptism or the minor villages. Unexploited till now were the personal names and occasional record of marriages contained in the mission registers, as well as early maps available for the region. Only the population data were extracted previously from the documents of the Sutter period.

The Indians are gone, but the material expression of their culture still survives in their former village sites and can be investigated by archaeological techniques. Routes of travel and locations given in the historical documents are often difficult to follow or identify with exactness, while the ethnographers usually recorded village locations given vaguely by informants without attempting to visit the actual sites. Ethnogeographic maps constructed from such generalized data can only be approximations. By means of site survey the archaeologist is able to obtain precise locations relative to local terrain and ecology, and to determine which sites fulfill the requisite conditions imposed on a village location by the ethnohistorical data. In all too many instances, the latter are so vague that several archaeological sites meet all requirements. However, by means of excavation and analysis of the artifact content of the alternative sites, it is usually possible to obtain enough typological relationships between aboriginal and non-aboriginal manufactures to allow identification of the historic village. In addition to this contribution of precise locations and full ecological setting to the ethnogeographic corpus, the archaeologist can also fill in many of the gaps in both material and non-material culture left undocumented by salvage ethnography by means of total evaluation of the material remains.

To make fullest use of the artifacts available for this evaluation it is essential that the archaeologist be able to reduce the nature and number of



necessary assumptions to the barest minimum. He is dependent for this effort on the ethnographic, ethnohistoric and linguistic record in his identification of the use, function and meaning of the artifacts found. While the ethnographer is often quite content to generalize about the culture of an entire dialectic group from the responses obtained from one or two informants speaking the dialect, the archaeologist is allowed no such leeway with the evidence produced by a single site or two. Instead he is forced to search for meaningful boundaries in both space and time by means of internal analysis and external comparison of the contents of site after site before the meaningful contemporary patterns emerge. When dealing with the problem of following the historic culture of a region back into the past, knowledge of the language spoken by the historic occupants of an excavated site will greatly reduce the range of uncertain inferences which plagues the prehistoric investigator. The archaeologist is therefore interested in securing as precise boundaries for aboriginal linguistic groups as possible.

By unhappy coincidence, the most intensive archaeological investigations in Central California have been centered in this same Bay and Delta stretch of poorest ethnographic coverage. Since many of the excavated sites in the region had yielded historic and protohistoric artifacts, as well as an indication of earlier and long continued local development, the uncertain boundaries of the aboriginal groups were a vexing problem. Certain differences in the distribution and frequency of native manufactures suggested cultural boundaries, but the published data on the location of the linguistic groups involved have been so imprecise that one could only ponder the question as to whether the differences represented occupation by distinct ethnic groups or merely the dominating influence of one group over another. A review of pertinent data--ethnographic, historical, and archaeological--is therefore needed, and the findings, as they pertain to Plains Miwok settlements and boundaries, form the subject of this study.



## Chapter 2

### GEOGRAPHIC SETTING

The Plains Miwok occupied the southeastern extremity of the Sacramento Valley, just north of the juncture of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers (Map 2). In terms of the boundaries proposed in Chapter 6 their territory formed a trapezoid roughly delimited by the Yolo Basin on the west, the American River on the north, the Sierra Nevada Mountains on the east, and the Calaveras River on the south, with approximate coordinates of 38 degrees north latitude and 121 degrees west longitude.

Most of this territory represents a broad, flat plain lying on the wetter side of the Great Valley. The elevation averages only 25 feet above sea level, rising gradually to the east from five feet below sea level in the delta of the southwest quarter to almost 500 feet at the edge of the eastern foothills. The Montezuma Hills in the extreme southwest corner of the region do not rise above 200 feet, while most of the eastern uplands are below 300 feet elevation.

Four physiographic divisions are represented--delta marshland, alluvial plains, upland ridges, and river channels. As of 1850, the western third of the region formed the northern limit of the Delta Tidal Plain, an extensive marshland broken into innumerable islands by the meandering sloughs of the Sacramento, San Joaquin, and Mokelumne Rivers. Except for scattered sand hummocks and the natural river-levees, the heart of this subsection represents a vast tule swamp at or below sea level, and deep peat deposits indicate a long history of subsidence. Sandy alluvium replaces the peat along the northern and eastern periphery, while the western edge consists of the Yolo Basin, a large, treeless catchment which was filled with flood waters in the spring but became dry and parched in the fall (Cosby and Carpenter 1937; Cosby 1941; also see Heizer 1949: Map 2).

The central strip of Plains Miwok territory, between 25 and 100 feet elevation, represents the Victor Alluvial Plain, a broad alluvial fan deposited by the ancestral Mokelumne and Cosumnes Rivers. Devoid of stones but dotted with great oaks, these plains, dry and straw-colored from late spring through fall, became a green, grassy meadowland with the first winter rains.

The eastern third of the region comprises the Arroyo Seco Pediment, a dissected upland belt 100 to 500 feet above sea level with low, rounded hills and flat-topped ridges composed of a reddish soil filled with coarse gravel and stream cobbles.

The river channels and flood plains, supporting lush vegetation, cut through the valley plain and uplands as broad, shallow troughs bordering the rivers. As graphically described by Warner (1909:187) in 1833, the flood plains were subject to annual inundation during late spring when the river channels and tidal plain became an inland sea and only the long, narrow crests of the natural levees (which supported the Indian villages) remained above water. The Sacramento River is the major watercourse within Plains Miwok ter-



ritory, flowing southward with an abundant year-round supply of water. The remaining waterways, fed by Sierran snows, are smaller and flow along a gentle gradient from the hills toward the southwest or west. The Mokelumne River, Cosumnes River, and Deer Creek probably had a year-round flow in aboriginal times, while Dry Creek, Laguna Creek and the smaller tributaries went dry in the late summer. Many small lakes and ponds were scattered along the lower river course.

The climate is Mediterranean (Csa in the Koppen classification), with hot, dry summers and cool, rainy winters. The mean temperature is 61 degrees F., with a mean annual range of from 46 degrees F. in January to 73 degrees F. in August and extremes of 18 degrees F. and 115 degrees F. All seasons are affected by the moderating influence of sea winds which enter the valley through Carquinez Strait. Most land away from the rivers is arid, for the average annual rainfall is only 15.5 inches, virtually all of which falls as rain from November to March (Kesseli 1942: Map 4; Wildman 1921:5).

The boundary between the Lower and Upper Sonoran Life zones runs in a north-south direction through the center of the region (Grinnell 1935). The tidal plain was little more than a vast sea of tule reeds and cat-tail rushes. Lush vegetation covered the river bottoms where cottonwoods, poplars, sycamores, valley oaks, live oaks, buckeyes, and laurels, all festooned with grapevines, rose above a dense undergrowth of willows, alders, and rose thickets. Occasional groves of walnuts may have represented accidental plantings which resulted from Indian trade with Southern California (Jepson 1909:38). Lupine, soaproot, tarweed, ragweed, brodiaea, and a wide variety of other lilies and small plants grew close to water sources. Few travelers failed to comment on the luxuriance of the flora which lined the river banks in a band 600 yards to four miles wide, which often rendered navigation difficult and impeded the watering of horses (McComish and Lambert 1918:24). The relatively open plains were thus broken into narrow strips by these bands of heavy vegetation along the waterways.

Though parched in summer and fall, the valley plain away from the rivers was a vast parkland covered with perennial bunchgrass, clover, sunflowers, and scattered oaks. The valley oak was the characteristic tree of the Sacramento Valley. Frequently standing alone because of the grassland fires set by the Indians, the great size of many trees impressed the early visitors; Buffum (1850:25) mentioned oaks eight feet in diameter and 80 feet tall while Belcher (1843:123) measured trunks 19 and 27 feet in circumference (at three feet above the ground) which rose 60 feet before branching (Jepson 1909:39).

The grass cover continued into the eastern uplands, the moister slopes of which supported digger pines, live oaks, blue oaks and the chaparral vegetation definitive of the Upper Sonoran life zone.

A marsh fauna dominated much of the area. All early travelers were most impressed by the great herds of tule elk, while beaver, river otter, raccoon, mink and varied rodents abounded in the delta and river bottoms, along with not infrequent grizzly bears. Mixing with these and extending to the drier elevations were deer, antelope, black bear, cottontail rabbits, jack rabbits, coyotes, badgers, skunks, ground squirrels, gophers, woodrats, and occasional wildcats and foxes (Grinnell 1923; Ingles 1947; Grinnell, Dickson and Linsdale



1937; Beck and Haase 1974: Maps 9 & 10). Vast numbers of waterfowl wintered in the marshlands, including a variety of ducks, geese, cranes, herons, pelicans, and whistling swans. Geese are reported to have darkened the skies, and their flights extended from one horizon to the other (Belcher 1843:123; Farquhar 1932:116; Cronise 1868:309; McComish and Lambert 1918:24). Valley quail, mourning doves, flickers, woodpeckers, roadrunners, and various small songbirds were prevalent in the plains, along with red-tailed hawks, horned owls, bald eagles, turkey buzzards, and an occasional California condor.

Some 26 species of fish could be found in the Sacramento River and its larger tributaries; 14 species were larger food fish, the most notable of which were salmon, sturgeon, chub, perch, sucker, Sacramento pike, trout, and lamprey. The Sacramento had two annual salmon runs, the Mokelumne and Cosumnes only one (Rostlund 1946:29, 37, Map 2; Kroeber 1929:263, 284; 1932:277).

From the numerous descriptions of the Sacramento Valley left by early visitors there can be no doubt that a bountiful and pleasant habitat was represented (Belcher 1843:129-131; Bryant 1849:245; Buffum 1850:25; Delano 1936:110; Johnson 1850:111; Kelly 1852:21-72). Smith, trapping on the Mokelumne River in 1828, commented on the daily sight of grizzlies, the 15-20 pound salmon caught by the Indians, and the killing of nine elk in one day (Sullivan 1934:56, 60, 62). Work (1923:21, 34-35, 56, 62) often referred to the abundance of elk (19 killed in one day) or antelope as he crossed and recrossed the valley marshes and plains in 1832. Though not unique, one of the more complete accounts is that of Yount, who crossed the Great Valley four years after the 1833 plague: deer, elk and antelope

...were numerous beyond parallel. In herds of many hundreds, they might be met so tame that they would hardly move to open the way for the traveler to pass. They were seen lying or grazing in great herds, on the sunny side of every hill and their young, like lambs, were frolicking in all directions. The wild geese and every species of water fowl darkened the surface of every bay and firth, and upon the land in flocks of millions, they wandered in quest of insects and cropping the wild oats which grew there in abundance. When disturbed, they arose to fly, the sound of their wings was like that of distant thunder. The rivers were literally crowded with salmon, which since the pestilence had swept away the Indians, no one disturbed (Yount 1923:52).



## Chapter 3

### PLAINS MIWOK CULTURE

The language spoken by the Plains Miwok is one of the seven classified languages of the Miwok family, the latter representing the only member of the California Penutian stock which is broken into discontinuous segments and found in all physiographic provinces of Central California (Barrett 1908; Kroeber 1925:347-350; Broadbent and Callaghan 1960). The Plains language, restricted to the eastern floor of the Great Valley, was the most divergent member of the Sierran branch, or Eastern division. Its closest relative was the Northern language of the Foothill Miwok branch, found in the adjacent foothills and high Sierra to the east; the less similar Central and Southern languages of Foothill Miwok were limited to the foothills and mountains to the southeast of the Northern language.

A fifth language of Eastern Miwok, termed "Saclan," has recently been identified (Beeler 1955). Though the boundaries for this new unit are by no means certain, available evidence suggests that the Saclan Miwok were the southwestern neighbors of the Plains Miwok, extending along the southern shore of Suisun Bay. The designation "Bay" Miwok will therefore be used for this language herein, since the Saclan label, based on a village name, is inconsistent with the geographic name of the other Miwok languages and dialects. Despite its location at the northern end of the South Coast Range, Beeler found Bay Miwok to be more closely related to the Northern Foothill language than to adjacent Plains Miwok.

The two languages of the Coast branch, or Western division, of Miwok were isolated from all members of the Sierran branch and from each other. Lake Miwok was spoken by a small enclave living south of Clear Lake in the North Coast Range, while the two adjacent dialects (Marin and Bodega) of Coast Miwok proper were confined to the Marin peninsula at the northwestern edge of San Francisco Bay.

The other immediate neighbors of the Plains Miwok were all Penutian speakers, but each represented distinct languages of different linguistic families: Valley Nisenan on the north, Southern Patwin on the west, and Northern Yokuts on the south.

The Plains Miwok lived in the geographic center of the California culture area, and all basic traits definitive of this cultural division were present among them (Kroeber 1922; 1939:53-55; Klimek 1935). Unfortunately, many details of the non-material culture which are needed to evaluate the nature of the relationships of this central Penutian group to its neighbors are confused or were never recorded. Powers, working in the 1870's, had little if any contact with Delta groups. By the time Kroeber, Merriam, Curtis, Gifford, and Barrett began their intensive ethnographic studies only fragments of the former cultural patterns of the Plains Miwok and adjacent valley groups could be salvaged. The few informants who could be found were vaguely familiar only with the small and disintegrating villages which survived the 1833 plague or were acculturated descendants who never participated in the functioning Plains Miwok society.



As a result, the data available on Plains Miwok society and culture are grossly deficient and unbalanced in coverage, though not as wanting as for Northern Yokuts, Southern Patwin or Costanoan. The most complete source on Plains Miwok life is the Culture Element Distribution List, obtained from two Mokelumne River informants in 1936 (Aginsky 1943). Short to begin with, the single Plains Miwok column is deplorably incomplete and filled with so many uncertain responses, or contradictions that the informants must be considered of low reliability.<sup>1</sup> In addition, the content (including such elements as bedrock mortars, complete secondary cremation, and the Mourning Ceremony) reveals considerable influence from the adjacent Northern Miwok of the foothills. Environmental conditions and archaeology indicate that such influence is a reflection of the altered social contacts of the historic period rather than of aboriginal conditions.

Aside from ethnogeography and linguistics, the sparse additional descriptive material on the Miwok occupants of the plains is scattered in a variety of sources dealing with the much better known Sierra Miwok or other neighboring groups (cf. Kroeber 1925: Chapter 30; Barrett and Gifford 1933; Gifford 1922). The following background summary is taken from these sources with supplementary additions from data on neighboring but similar groups, the historical accounts and the archaeological remains of the protohistoric period.

The Plains Miwok were intensive food collectors. Historical as well as ethnographic accounts agree that the economy of the Central California Indians was based primarily on the collecting of plant foods, while fishing and hunting ranked as subsidiary activities. The acorn was the staple food, supplemented by a wide variety of seeds, nuts, roots, berries and greens which occurred in sufficient quantity to offset failure of the acorn crop. The burden basket, digging stick, and seed beater represented essential equipment used by every adult woman, and each lineage erected granaries in which a two year supply of harvested foods could be stored (Chever 1870:134).<sup>2</sup> It is significant that men usually helped with the harvest of acorns, a most unusual activity in an economy dominated by hunting. A large portion of almost every day was devoted to the grinding, sifting, leaching, and cooking of acorns, and many of the Plains Miwok artifacts pertained specifically to the preparation of plant foods (Kroeber 1925:814-815; Gifford 1936).

Fishing and hunting were of definite importance but were not developed to maximum capacity. Despite a rich fluvial fauna more than equal to that of Northwestern California, only half as many fishing techniques were in use (Rostlund 1952:149, 150, Map 45 and 46). Individual hunting skill also seems to have been weakly developed. A variety of arrows were used with the sinew-backed bow, but running down game was still a common technique, dogs were absent, and, despite the punitive consequences, many Indians found it easier to steal horses and cattle from the coastal settlements than to depend on their own marksmanship amid an abundant native fauna. Contemporary accounts emphasize the plant foods and fish which were often brought to the gun-bearing visitors with a request for meat (Lewis 1880:49; Work 1923:24, 30; Delano 1936:130; Sullivan 1934:69).

Birds, rodents and other small mammals were of greater year-round



significance than elk, deer, or antelope, while communal activities (hunting drives, nets for both hunting and fishing, fish weirs, fish poisons) were more productive than individual stalking, harpooning, or angling.<sup>3</sup> Fame as a great hunter or angler appears to have been much less of a desired goal than the acquisition of wealth by means of special crafts or knowledge.<sup>4</sup> Much of the animal food was dried and pulverized, i.e., treated like plant foods. Furs and skins were of minor importance and the art of dressing skins was poorly developed. To Kroeber (1925:523-525), hunting and fishing in aboriginal Central California presented greater similarity to the more basic gathering complex than to the specialized hunting and fishing activities found among various Arctic, Northwest Coast, or Plains tribes, each of which had strongly contrasting economic pursuits within the same culture.

Economic activities were largely confined to recognized tribelet boundaries with prompt reprisals for poaching, though permission to cross boundaries was usually given to neighboring groups which were in need or lacked certain resources in their own territory. Land use was probably comparable to that of the Patwin, among whom the acorn and hunting lands were held communally while access to seed tracts and fishing stations was controlled by individuals who inherited the rights of use; individuals could also claim the crop of certain trees though property marks were respected only for a single season (Kroeber 1932:275-277).

Even though the details are vague it does seem clear that each family was not economically self-sufficient.<sup>5</sup> Differences in wealth were denoted by special terms, dress, mortuary rites, and obligations, while village headmen were expected to take their wives from other headman lineages. Professional specialization seems to have been emerging, for there are repeated references to individuals who engaged only in the taking of certain kinds of animals, birds, or fish, and in the manufacture of the more complicated or time-consuming artifacts; rights to the practice of a few crafts and many ceremonial activities had become hereditary and their performance required payment. The extensive external trade relations which existed, while not free of barter and the gift aspect, were conducted largely by use of clamshell disc beads which represented a standardized medium of exchange.

The aboriginal economy of the valley groups thus approached a perfected adaptation to a bountiful habitat in terms of concentration on intensive food collecting integrated with compatible hunting and fishing activities. Leisure time in settled villages was available for specialized handicrafts and ceremonial elaboration. The success of the economic system is indicated by the virtual absence of famine or starvation and is reflected in a higher density of population than that found in many agricultural regions (Kroeber 1939: Map 18). Though isolation and climate were contributing factors, it seems probable that the adequacy of the collecting economy provides the primary explanation for the failure of agriculture to diffuse westward beyond the Colorado River (Heizer 1958a:20-22).

Large, multi-lineage villages were concentrated on elevations along watercourses, and all but the smallest were occupied permanently except for a general exodus of several weeks during the fall acorn harvest. Wealthy men occasionally erected a semisubterranean earth lodge, but domed lodges covered with tule mats and grass thatch were most common.<sup>6</sup> Usually an extended



family occupied a single lodge. Both the assembly house (built only in the major villages) and the men's sweathouse were round, semisubterranean structures of substantial construction covered with earth. Communication was maintained by runners and included use of simple knotted strings. The only transportation, aside from foot travel, consisted of tule balsas, and these were used more for fishing and aquatic hunting than for travel. Women served in lieu of beasts of burden. Fallen (occasionally felled) trees served as bridges but all inhabitants early became adept swimmers (Work 1923:59-60).

Clothing was scanty, perhaps because it was seldom needed in the moderate climate; men wore nothing, while small, two-piece, waist aprons of shredded fiber sufficed for women. Cloaks of dressed skin, bird feathers, or tule, as well as rabbit-skin blankets, were worn during inclement weather (Merriam 1967:367). In contrast to the daily dress, there was a great variety of ornamentation worn at all ceremonial affairs and offered as gifts to the dead. Many of these items served as wealth objects in varied economic and social exchanges. Disc beads made of white clamshell were the most favored bead form, worn as necklaces and belts and added as pendant ornaments to feathered headdresses, ear tubes, and basketry. Many other beads, made from varied shells, magnesite, steatite, and bone, were used alone or to add color and variation to the strings of clamshell. Iridescent abalone shell was extensively used to make ornaments of diverse shapes and sizes. The yellowhammer, red-headed woodpecker, and mallard furnished bright orange-and-black, brilliant red, and iridescent green feathers which were worked into elaborate and highly valued headbands and belts. Down and larger feathers of many other birds were made into ornamental ropes, and a variety of showy, ceremonial headdresses and mantles. The entire body of male dancers was painted in geometric patterns, while simple linear designs were tattooed on women's chins. The hairnet worn by the men and the absence of the woman's basketry cap were distinctively Central Californian.

Technology was remarkably simple, with an emphasis on wood and textiles, choices which archaeology reveals to be basically cultural rather than environmental. In contrast to those of their ancient predecessors of the Middle Horizon, most utilitarian implements were carelessly finished. Though the bone basketry awl was used almost daily by older women, the handle portion of this tool was not ground smooth, while simple sticks or other unworked objects often served multiple and specialized functions. Even the use of such an essential woodworking tool as the antler wedge had been largely abandoned by the historic period. Bone was not widely utilized for tools in spite of its relative abundance, and neighboring groups in the stoneless delta imported more lithic material than did the Plains Miwok. The mortar was of wood, and the heavy stone pestles, burdensome to import, were lineage property used by all women of the communal household. Skin dressing was not elaborate and was of little importance. An extensive industry, concentrated in certain villages near clay deposits, was the manufacture of baked clay substitutes for objects made of stone elsewhere; these included cooking stones primarily, as well as net weights, pipes, and crude cups. Miniature effigies of birds, animals, and very rare humans were also made of baked clay; the clearest analogy for the birds is with the Kuksu religious cult, although the Plains Miwok specimens may have been used for a different purpose.

Only hereditary specialists could make ceremonial gear and special



mortuary basketry. Details are lacking for the Plains Miwok, but it is probable that the manufacture of projectile points, shell ornaments, steatite and wooden pipes, and the more intricate hunting and fishing equipment was largely done by trained craftsmen. Beads of all kinds, bows, pestles, and many arrow points were imported as finished articles.

The division of industry by sex is one of the most poorly treated subjects in California ethnography and must in large part be inferred from occasional and widely scattered references. With the major exceptions of hunting gear (taboo to the touch of menstruating women) and basketry utensils (exclusively women's work), it is probable that few rigid rules were operative and women may have assisted the men in various tasks when convenient. Sex of the dominant user of a particular object was sometimes pertinent, but men, perhaps because they had more leisure time, seem to have been the more varied craftsmen and made many articles used or worn by women. Women probably made all basket utensils, tule mats, cradles, waist aprons, and probably the baked clay cook stones. Men appear to have been largely responsible for the remaining items, certainly those associated with hunting, fishing and ceremonies, and at least much of the accessory clothing and ornaments. They even controlled the fundamentals of basketry techniques needed to make basketry traps. All string and cordage (used so extensively in hunting and fishing nets as well as in cloaks and blankets) was made by the men, quite possibly with a spindle and stone whorl (Kroeber 1929:263).<sup>8</sup> Men were also the weavers, occasionally assisted by women; the feather cloak (worn by women) and rabbit-skin blanket were both<sup>9</sup> woven on the simplest of looms - two vertical poles (Kroeber 1929:260). Twined bags may have been made by women, but the netted bags probably were products of the men. Skin dressing was a male occupation, and the men presumably made the baked clay net weights used for bird hunting and fishing, the tule duck decoys, and the ceremonial baked clay effigies, as well as the chipped stone implements, pipes, and ritual gear. Men were always referred to as the source of shell ornaments; and mush paddles, requiring some time and care to make, doubtless belonged in the male sphere as well. Women's bone ear tubes, incised with delicate geometric designs resembling but not identical to basketry motifs, represented the high point of the art produced by the men, along with the gorgeous feather belts which also were women's garb.

The twined and coiled baskets made by the women were virtually the only containers in use and could be made watertight. Fine, coiled baskets, ornamented with refined geometric designs, represented the artistic climax of Plains Miwok culture. Also decorated with quail plumes and beads, many of the finest baskets were made exclusively for mortuary gifts. Plains Miwok and other mid-valley women were thoroughly familiar with the modeling of simple baked clay objects, so that the high development of the basketry industry must in part account for the failure of pottery to penetrate beyond the southernmost edge of the San Joaquin Valley.

Details on Plains Miwok warfare are not available, but there is nothing to suggest that the group was much different from their relatively peaceful neighbors. Both the Valley Nisenan and Northern Miwok were hated enemies, so the boundaries with these groups were not crossed except in a large company. The more southerly Plains Miwok tribelets participated in the horse-stealing



raids and general resistance which prevented Spanish and Mexican settlement of the Great Valley. Occasional massacres are reported among neighboring groups, in which, men, women, and children were killed without differentiation. However, the lack of defensive protection for the highly inflammable villages would indicate the rarity of destructive surprise attacks against them. Fighting was provoked most frequently by poaching, but also by wife-stealing and suspicion of witchcraft; most battles seem to have been rather sportsmanlike archery contests in which one or two deaths prompted retreat. To reestablish peace, the victor had to pay for any imbalance in casualties.

Religion was centered in the Kuksu cult, but it is uncertain which form was present or whether a secret society was involved. Ceremonial dances in the assembly house were frequent, accompanied by the foot drum, whistles, and singing. The first acorn rite, bear dance, and harvest festival were other important ceremonies, all of which were accompanied by feasting and gambling.

The primary function of the male shaman was curing by means of singing and dancing to the accompaniment of the cocoon rattle, the manipulation of varied charms, and the extraction of poisonous agents by sucking. Shamans were also capable of causing disease and were separated from the remainder of the society by strong ambivalent feelings. Misuse of the power which came with experience could lead to an accusation of witchcraft and a secret sentence to death from ambush. Weather control and clairvoyance are denied as shamanistic powers in the available data, but were probably present.

Life crisis rituals were overshadowed by the religious ceremonies. Births were celebrated with a feast five months after delivery, when food taboos imposed on both parents were lifted. The girl's adolescence rite involved food and scratching taboos with complete seclusion but was private rather than public, a consistent valley-foothill contrast in Central California. Preferential cross-cousin marriage with mother's brother's daughter strengthened exogamous lineage alignments. All proper marriages involved bride wealth, gift exchange between families, and a culminating feast. Both divorce and polygyny were common.

Of all the life crises, the activities associated with death were the most elaborated. Archaeology reveals that the corpse, richly ornamented, was tied in a flexed position, wrapped with offerings in a tule mat, and placed in a simple circular pit within the village confines. Many followed the new idea of placing the head toward the southwest, but conservative families, still believing in the "Happy Western Land" as an afterworld, continued the ancient practice of orienting the head toward the west.<sup>10</sup> Simple burial was adequate for ordinary people, but wealthy families usually preferred a special form of primary cremation in which the wrapped corpse was set afire and the grave filled before burning baskets and flesh had more than scorched the bones.<sup>11</sup> The destruction of a fitting amount of wealth in the form of mortuary gifts was essential if the family was to maintain its position among gossipy peers; beads, ornaments, and fancy baskets were particularly suitable, but offerings might include any object, irrespective of the age or sex of the deceased. Most utilitarian objects, unless fragmentary or a favorite tool of the dead person, were willed to relatives prior to death or destroyed elsewhere. Though perhaps an ideal pattern, the burial of all personal property with the owner was seldom actually practiced.



Funerals were a major occasion for the display of wealth, accompanied by the feasting of gift-bearing guests and reciprocal gift exchange. Guests joined the relatives in the full release of grief by uncontrolled wailing and weeping, and periodically danced with slow and measured tread around the grave. The house was burned if the owner died, while the village might be burned and temporarily abandoned at the death of a headman. The name of the dead became permanently taboo, while a widow disfigured herself and remained in seclusion for a year.

The basic social unit was the patrilineal extended family with preferred patrilocal residence (Gifford 1922). The lineages were grouped into (totemic?) moieties, the specific nature of which are uncertain. The structure of the kinship system is classifiable as of Normal Omaha type, implying a long history of patrilineal emphasis (Murdock 1949:340). Despite its aberrant nature, the claim of permanent matrilineal residence and matriclans is presented without discussion by Aginsky (1943:429, no. 1440; 464, no. 19940), and thus remains but another of the indefinite suggestions of a (developing?) matrilineal tendency scattered through the Central California data.

The largest political unit was the tribelet, defined by Kroeber (1962:29) as a group characterized by a sense of cohesion, local autonomy, and use and ownership of a certain territory. It could be represented by a single village or a primary village with up to half a dozen smaller and subsidiary settlements. Data to be presented herein suggest that the Plains Miwok were thus divided into about 28 fully independent social units which sometimes formed larger cooperative groups by means of marital and warfare alliances. The tribelet took its name from the tribelet center, which represented the natal village of the hereditary headman or "chief" of the unit, and which was the site of the principal assembly house used for ceremonial dances.

Details on political organization are not available for the Plains Miwok, but the following summary would be typical of most Central California groups. The headman, though wealthy and recognized as the leader and spokesman of the tribelet, was actually overshadowed in terms of power by older, experienced shamans. Primary duties of the headman included the announcement of majority decisions reached after full discussion with the older men and lineage heads; the regulation of the seasonal round of activities; the arbitration of disputes; the direction of foreign affairs, including trade; the welcoming of visitors; and the delivery of a daily harangue to the assembled villages on leading a proper life. Accorded the deference due a father in a patriarchal family, his actual power to order that things be done or to enforce decisions contrary to the group will was limited, and dissatisfied families were free to shift their residence to other villages containing relatives by marriage. Larger tribelets had village headmen for each settlement who formed a council. A public crier normally assisted the tribelet headman, and several minor officials had recognized duties. The war leader was usually a separate official, and the headman, should he fail to maintain peace, was expected to be the first to seek a settlement of inter-tribelet discord.

One final problem merits consideration. It is probable that Kroeber's (1939:55) exclusion of the Plains Miwok from the climax of the California culture area is more a reflection of deficient information than actual



fact.<sup>12</sup> It should be noted that the group does fall within the climax boundaries in the statistical analysis of the meager data available prior to the Culture Element Distribution project (Milke 1949:248, Fig. 8, Isopleth 90). In addition, though no adequate archaeological record from the Pomo or Patwin climactic centers is yet available for comparison, the intensive excavations which extend from southernmost River Patwin to Northern Yokuts territory point consistently to a late culture hearth in the Delta (Heizer and Fenenga 1939; Beardsley 1948:20). When viewed from the richness of their past rather than from the poverty of their shattered late 19th century state, the Plains Miwok appear as active participants in the moderate but definite efflorescence which characterized the aboriginal culture of Central California.



## ETHNOGEOGRAPHY: PROBLEMS AND SOURCES

Introduction

In order to establish the linguistic boundaries of the Plains Miwok it was necessary to know as precisely as possible the location of the settlements inhabited by speakers of this language. The land holding unit among the Plains Miwok was the individual tribelet, which took its name from that of the principal village. The primary duty of the male members of the tribelet was the defense of their territorial boundaries. Even more important than fishing or hunting was the prevention of any encroachment or poaching on the part of foreigners, as well as the defense of the tribelet women as they combed the territory collecting plant foods. Mutual boundaries were recognized by adjacent tribelets and usually respected. Violation of these agreements meant war, and strangers were shot on sight.

In these crucial questions of defense of territory, the degree of linguistic difference between the tribelets concerned was immaterial. Adjacent tribelets often cooperated, if they were friendly, but a Miwok tribelet was just as ready to attack another Miwok tribelet as it was to fight a Yokuts or a Nisenan one, and in some cases more so. Boundaries between tribelets would be known insofar as they were important for these problems of defense, but there was no reason for members of a particular tribelet to know the remote boundaries of their language area, where these boundaries pertained to tribelets with whom territorial disputes could scarcely arise. For example, members of a Miwok group living on the upper Cosumnes River would have probably known that people on the San Joaquin River spoke a language which was no longer comprehensible to them, but few would have had any knowledge or concern with the specific boundaries of tribelets in this area, including those boundaries which separated speakers of Miwok from speakers of Yokuts. It is only by determining the boundaries of each tribelet in a given linguistic group that the general boundaries of the group can be fixed with some precision. Earlier attempts to delimit language groups in this area have rested on a judicious weighing of different native claims rather than on a determination of individual tribelet territories.

In spite of the time elapsed since the tribelets in this area ceased to be functional territorial units, there is still a large body of material available bearing on the problem. This material varies considerably in nature, however, and it will be desirable to discuss the problems involved in its interpretation and use before taking up the tribelet territories individually. Let us begin by discussing the significance of the village names, the synonymy of name variants, and the question of tribelet mobility.

Significance of village names. The concern here is only with those place names which were known or said to be designations of settlements or groups of people. These names in fact constitute a majority of the Plains Miwok place names which have survived, for few purely geographic names (names for springs, mountains, and rivers for example) have survived in this language. Within the class of names of settlements and groups of people, however, we face the problem of distinguishing settlement names which were also applied to a whole



tribelet territory from those which were not.

Merriam (1967:355-356) reported that among the Northern Miwok the name of the "first class village" (termed tribelet center herein) was applied to the village itself, its inhabitants, the inhabitants of minor tributary villages, and a definite tract of territory constituting the domain of the "tribe" (tribelet herein). It seems apparent that most of the available Plains Miwok place names conform to this pattern, representing both a village (the tribelet center) and a tribelet.

In the diaries of Spanish and Mexican explorations and campaigns, all Indian settlements were referred to as "rancherias," i.e., villages. The term used for the native village of neophytes in the San Jose Mission registers is also "rancheria," with no reference to the perplexing "nacion" and "familia" which occur so frequently in the Mission Dolores registers.

The consistent appearance of certain suffixes on most of the "rancheria" names indicates that the neophyte normally gave his tribelet affiliation, not just the name of his natal village (this point will be elaborated below). For Plains Miwok this suffix was -vowel + mne (Aniz-umne, Ochej-amne, Cos-omne, etc.) which meant "people of" and denoted a political community named after its principal or permanent settlement (Barrett 1908:341; Kroeber 1925:444).<sup>13</sup>

In addition, there are more references to villages in the historical and ethnographic data than can be accounted for from the number of tribelets recorded in the mission registers. Viader in 1810 noted the village of Aupemis just northeast of Banta; this name does not appear in the registers, and must represent a subsidiary village of the Cholbon tribelet (Cook 1960:258, Aug. 20). A "Chulamni" survivor remembered Wana and Kui as villages located near the mouth of the Calaveras River (northwest of Stockton); neither can be identified in the mission registers, so the inhabitants must have been baptized as belonging to the Chilamne tribelet (Chilamne is the mission variant of Kroeber's (1908:377) "Chulamni"). No names were recorded for the four villages which formed the Muqueleme tribelet. A similar conclusion is indicated by the documents of the Sutter period. In 1847, Sutter (ms. 5:91) referred to 70 small "tribes" (tribelets) speaking 20 different "languages" (dialects of four languages) in the plains east of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers between the Tuolumne River on the south and the upper Feather River on the north (Heizer and Hester 1970:94). Both his consistent use of the -mne suffix and his frequent reference to "chiefs" in the New Helvetia Diary indicate that Sutter was dealing with Plains Miwok tribelets, not just villages. Unfortunately, the ethnographers have consistently omitted the suffix, so villages cannot be distinguished from tribelet centers in their lists, a problem which will be dealt with in detail later.

Lastly, even though only a small number of the total sites in a particular region have been tested, there is archaeological evidence for more historic sites than there are recorded village names in some sections. A glance at Map 3 will reveal how few villages are known relative to river mileage; the Cosumnes River data may approach completeness, but the Sacramento and Mokelumne Rivers must have had more subsidiary villages.

The consistent absence of -mne suffixes on "rancheria" names has



therefore been taken as indicative of subsidiary villages in dealing with the Plains Miwok data. The occasional appearance of only the village name instead of the tribelet name for known tribelet centers (e.g., Cossom instead of Cosomne, Mache instead of Machemne) perhaps signifies that the specific individual baptized came from the actual tribelet center and not from one of the subsidiary villages of the tribelet. However, in the Plains Miwok mission data, there are only two possible examples of subsidiary villages: one individual from Nasune, and seven individuals from Chapaes assigned to tribelets 1 and 13, respectively (Plains Miwok tribelets have been numbered in Chapter 5 for ready cross reference).

Synonymy of variant names. The most perplexing problem to be dealt with in going over the varied source material on the ethnogeography of any Central California group is the identification of equivalent spellings of the same village name. The ability to determine whether a set of names represents one, two or several villages is essential to a wide variety of ethnographic, historical, demographic, and ecological problems, and the correctness of one's conclusions will often hinge on the care with which synonymous variants are discriminated. This is no easy task. A wide assortment of individuals, for equally heterogeneous reasons, have collected village names of the Plains Miwok and their neighbors, some with no thought whatever, others with casual interest, and a few with meticulous care. Some sources give but a single name, others a list with no locations, while a small minority provide names and locations, and on occasion, even size.

The difficulty of writing meaningless vocal sounds unfamiliar to Spanish, French, Russian, Swiss, or English speakers has resulted in a corpus of Indian village names which follow no orthographic rules, even when recorded by speakers of the same language. When compounded by a lack of standardized spelling in the recorder's language, different levels of literacy, mannerisms of penmanship, errors of transmission (oral, written and typographic), and variant systems of phonetic transcription, the resultant data have seemed a hopeless miasma to many. Thus, aside from suffix variation (-umne, -umni, -emne, -emna, -amo, in addition to an alternate -k or ko), the tribelet name which endured in corrupted form as the name of the river now called the Mokelumne has been rendered as Moquelumne, Mugelemna, Mokalumne, Muk-kel'-lumne, Mukeenes, Muthelemnes, Machalumbrys, Magneles, Marelkos, and Unkulemnes (over 30 variants are represented if each suffix variation and k - que alternations are included). Errors of transmission are particularly difficult to catch; though a modern linguist might reject any conclusion based on the synonymy of Siclimnes and Lelamne, the same tribelet name is represented; Siclimnes is merely the result of a visitor (Phelps) having misread Lielimne as rendered in Sutter's unfamiliar and florid script. A goodly number of the variants published so endlessly by Bancroft are the result of copyists having misread Pinart's miserably scrawled misreadings of the original documents.

However, this problem of synonymy is far from hopeless, even though it might appear to have no objective solution when viewing the plethora of chaotic names in compiled lists. If one returns to the original sources many of the variants disappear, for the errors of transmission are gone. If one concentrates on a limited number of years in the mission baptismal registers the important contemporary tribelets ("rancherias") emerge clearly through



constant repetition; one thus has the opportunity to check the many problems of orthography and penmanship. Fortunately, all was recorded in Spanish orthography (though spelling was still not standardized), and each scribe had to write both Indian names and Spanish text so any idiosyncratic usage can be detected. Skip 10 years and one will find a new complex of tribelets, for the activities of the mission fathers soon depopulated the shores of San Francisco Bay, and it was necessary to reach into the hills in all directions for new converts. The hills exhausted, their activities were extended into the Great Valley, and a radical change in names and numbers of individuals appears in the registers as the larger valley villages were drawn into the missions. Despite the alarming mortality which plagued the overcrowded mission compounds, the quest continued, and the tribelet names continued to change as missionization extended up and down the Valley and reached the Sierran foothills.

The date of each baptism was recorded. By plotting the tribelet names and the numbers baptized against the years, a significant constellation appears for each tribelet by which one can judge the approximate distance from the mission and the year of most intensive contact; plotting the frequency of baptisms for each tribelet usually yields a distinctive curve which will be discussed under tribelet mobility below. Those showing such a curve seldom have controversial variants. If long gaps appear in the year sequence associated with a particular tribelet, checking of the variant names by year will often show that the spelling of the tribelet name is consistently different on each side of the gap; one may presume that two distinct tribelets are represented if the spelling difference can be cleared of any other explanation. The appearance of initial Uns-, Uni-, and Juni- is found to change with scribes and does not reflect any other significant variation in year distribution, so a single tribelet can be proposed. Internal que and gue is found to vary at random and presumably reflects an intermediate sound spoken and heard differently by different individuals. When analyzed in this fashion, the number of uncertain variants is comparatively small, but the various assumptions need to be checked by placing the year constellation (first baptism, single year with the largest number of baptisms-termed the peak frequency-and last baptism) on a map.

The problem of location is not as difficult as might appear. The priests who accompanied the Spanish exploration expeditions were obviously interested in village locations and have provided many key placements. Soldiers who reported on military campaigns were less literate and less interested in place names, so the variants increase and the locations are vaguer, but the event was remembered in reminiscences or reported in other contemporary sources; none of the fighting tribelets is a serious problem, for example. Contemporary accounts must be emphasized because many tribelet names gradually became generalized place names and were applied far from the original village. More variants were added by the Swiss settler Sutter, who was dependent on Indian labor. The documents associated with him, though surprisingly deficient as to specific locations, do provide lists of contemporary tribelets which survived missionization, and the appearance of two similar variants in the same list is evidence of distinct tribelets. Then came the Americans, more interested in shooting an Indian than asking the name of his village, so the names are few and rendered with great distortion. Once settled down, however, an interest in local county history led some Americans to attempt to



include a chapter on the original inhabitants, and a few vital notes on ethnogeography did result. Finally the ethnographers have added their renderings in their own distinctive styles; fewer in number and often the most problematical as they pertain to the Plains Miwok, the location of many villages peripheral to and beyond the mission orbit are given in detail. Together the mission documents and ethnographic accounts complement each other and cover a wide region, with certain of the Sutter documents filling in gaps. Though a few small tribelets may have perished in the 1833 plague to remain nameless and unknown, it is reasonable to suppose that no major Plains Miwok tribelet escaped historic notice. By means of the mission dates and varied linkages of one tribelet to another (marriages, alliances, same day of baptism) the relatively few tribelets which had no specific location recorded can at least be placed in a general region.

Having mapped the tribelets with known locations, one attempts to find a year constellation among the unplaced names which best fits a vacant space on the map. All the available data are brought to bear on the first attempt--Do the marriages and alliances make sense in terms of distance or known ethnic affiliation? Is there an archaeological site nearby? Has it been excavated and if so, do the artifacts fit the date constellation? Are there marshes or groves nearby as indicated in the historical references? Does the terrain fit? Shifts are made, the data rechecked. Gradually, many problems are resolved and completely new relationships appear, and though one is never finished, a large number of checks are available with which to support the proposed identification of most of the major tribelet names.

The final result is often unexpected. One of the most definite conclusions is that similar (or even the same) names were occasionally used contemporaneously by different groups. The Miwok village of Walak, located on the Sacramento River by Kroeber (1929:259), can be identified from baptismal dates and archaeology as Gualacomne in the Mission San Jose records, and as Walagomne in the Sutter documents (Merriam 1955:221; Sutter 1939). However, it is quite distinct from the Yokuts village of Walakumne, located on the Tuolumne River by Merriam (Cook 1955a:65) and listed in the Mission Santa Clara records as Gualansemne (Merriam 1955:218). Equally distinct is the Nisenan village of Wolok, located in 1837 by Belcher (1843:122) and Kroeber (1929:257) at the mouth of the Feather River. There was a Nisenan Sekumne, a Miwok Sigousumne (tribelet 6), and a Yokuts Siakumne, variants of which have become quite confused. The conclusion that the Hulpumne and Julpun were not the same group will be defended in the text below (tribelet 1), while comments on the distinctness of the Wolwon (Volvon, Bolbon) and Cholbon (Cholvon) will be noted under neighboring groups in the discussion of boundaries in Chapter 6.

While the outline given above may imply that all problems have been resolved, such is not the case. There still remain a small residue of tribelet names which lack all associations, many which are quite controversial. There will always be room for disagreement as to what constitutes adequate proof of synonymy or non-equivalence, and what may seem an obvious connection to one, appears as quite debatable to another. Space prevents the inclusion of every item bearing on each particular problem. The selection made must emphasize new data to the exclusion of questions already resolved and can include only the barest minimum of the rich historical



background against which the events dealt with herein transpired.

The most difficult problem still remains--the selection of a single name from the many variants to be used in referring to each tribelet. Only a linguist could establish a satisfactory standard name for the tribelets which have spawned such chaotic spellings as exist in the published literature. Until such a definitive selection can be made, a makeshift is necessary. The only consistent renderings which covered the majority of tribelets were those contained in the Spanish documents. The names found in the registers of Mission San Jose and Mission Santa Clara have been published alphabetically and Cook usually preserved the Spanish orthography in his population studies. Therefore, when possible and if not confused, the tribelet name given as the first variant by Merriam (1955:217-219, 220-225) usually has been selected as the single referent to be used herein. I do this with definite reluctance--many sounds as rendered in Spanish orthography were not present in the original language, most notably v and gue. In addition, the number of times a variant appears in the registers (which determined Merriam's first choice of variants) depended only on how frequently individuals came in for baptism and had no relation to actual pronunciation; the nature of the spelling depended on the scribe. The reader may have less difficulty with the village names if he remembers that all sounds should be pronounced as in Spanish, not English (thus Spanish j and gu are equivalent to English h and w respectively).

Tribelet mobility. One additional problem of general pertinence needs to be mentioned. Schenck (1926:137) and Cook (1955a:62; 1957:147) inferred from certain references that pressure from the missions resulted in significant dislocations of the native settlements, with various groups moving farther into the interior to escape the Spanish and Mexican soldiers. The persistence of the same tribelet name would imply maintenance of the tribelet organization by the fugitive group. The major example of such a shift involves the proposed synonymy of two tribelet names, Julpun and Hulpumne. As discussed in detail under tribelet 1 in Chapter 5, available evidence points to the independent existence of the Julpun as a Bay Miwok group living at the mouth of the San Joaquin River, and the Hulpumne as a Plains Miwok group living on the Sacramento River at the Miwok-Nisenan boundary. The names probably represented contemporaneous use of the same root word, unless Merriam confused both the location and the "people of" suffix of the Julpun; there is no evidence for intrusion of any organized group of Julpun into Plains Miwok territory.

As mentioned previously, a distinctive curve resulted when the dates associated with most tribelets falling within the orbit of intensive mission contact were plotted. A few early baptisms from a tribelet may have had a scattered distribution, followed by a steady sequence of years in which the tribelet name appeared in the baptismal register from one to 20 or more times each year. Then in one year (occasionally two successive years) there would be a dramatic peak in the frequency of baptisms (40 to over 100 individuals), followed by an even sharper drop in the number of baptisms. The tribelet name usually disappeared from the mission register within five years after the single year peak frequency of baptisms; less often there may be a scattered trailing of occasional baptisms at odd intervals for a longer period.



From references in the registers and diaries, it would appear that many of the early baptisms represent children and those dying from disease, baptized either at the mission or by a visiting priest at the village. Others represent wives obtained from more distant tribelets and baptized with their husbands while living in a patrilocal village closer to the mission (see tribelet 15). However, the appearance of a fairly steady stream of baptisms indicates that proselytizers had reached the tribelet and were actively at work in various ways; the Cholbon Yokuts, first of the large tribelets in the Delta proper to yield to missionization, appear to have been the most willing to serve in this capacity and became the most hated (Mahr 1932:89, 99).<sup>14</sup> Occasional large fluctuations in frequency might represent baptisms from a subsidiary village, or can be linked with a military campaign. Ultimately, a decision was reached, and the great majority of the tribelet members agreed to be baptized and to move to the mission; since this great influx is usually concentrated in a single year, one suspects that it may accompany baptism of the tribelet headman. New converts were usually allowed to return annually to collect seeds or visit villages still occupied by mission-resisting relatives. However, frequent visits were always disfavored by the priests and lessened rapidly as deaths increased both at the mission and the villages. Certainly little organized social activity was possible after missionization for those who preferred to remain outside the mission, and most of these submitted to baptism within a few years. Once the name disappeared from the baptismal registers one must conclude that the organized group became extinct; all members were living at the mission, had lost their original identity by joining more distant tribelets, or had died from disease.

By 1828 the Delta Tidal Plain south of Walnut Grove and west of Stockton had been exhausted of permanently occupied villages; no baptism was ever again recorded for any member of the three Bay Miwok tribelets within the Great Valley, for 10 Northern Yokuts tribelets (as well as others just south of the Delta) or for five southwestern Plains Miwok tribelets. Of these 18 Delta groups, only the peripheral Sotolomne Plains Miwok survived into the Sutter period as an organized tribelet with a headman. A few scattered families of the Julpun, Anizumne, Yatchicumne and probably others appeared (largely from indirect references--see tribelet 12) to have returned to their former lands after secularization, but none were recognized as a resident political unit by Sutter, Marsh, Vallejo or Weber. Most of the survivors of these pre-1828 tribelets clearly remained at such settlements as Pleasanton and San Jose, or gradually shifted to such larger Indian communities as Ione in the Sierran foothills.

However, baptisms continued to be recorded for the Plains Miwok living beyond the Delta until secularization in 1836 (baptisms from the nearer tribelets reached a low point in 1834, one year after the 1833 plague) and the same was true for the non-Delta Yokuts taken to Santa Clara Mission. Had fugitive Delta groups maintained their identity as organized tribelets in these more distant locations, it is reasonable to expect that at least a few individuals belonging to tribelets exhausted prior to 1828 may have wished to be with their relatives and would have yielded to baptism. Since no such baptisms occurred between 1828 and 1836, one must conclude that the normal fate of non-baptized fugitives was incorporation into a friendly tribelet or death from disease.



This presentation is by no means a denial of fugitivism in terms of individuals, families, and perhaps even lineages; it is a denial of tribelet fugitivism. There is no question that neophytes roamed far and wide--wider than the published literature indicates--through the non-missionized villages as proselytizers, truant officers, and fugitives; the number of those who preferred to leave their natal villages rather than be baptized at all must have been still greater, yet no evidence for any headman leading them thither has yet appeared. The sequence of baptismal dates available for individual tribelets is too consistent to support any widespread shift of total villages or organized tribelets until the Sutter period. As will be discussed presently, the Junizumne and Ochejamne appear to have defied the Spanish in the 1813 battle near Walnut Grove; they abandoned the same villages when Duran arrived in 1817; they defied the Mexicans in the battle of 1830 in the same location; and they remained in the same villages as allies of Vallejo and protectors of Sonoma against the Muqueleme in 1837. Weakened by disease and under pressure from the Muqueleme, they finally did abandon their villages within a year of the founding of New Helvetia to become laborers for Sutter. Until the 1833 plague, the large Valley tribelets displayed little fear of the Spanish or the Mexicans; they held these intruders at bay, and raided their coastal settlements. Had their numbers been what they were aboriginally, perhaps even Sutter would not have stayed.

Against this background, it is difficult to accept the identification proposed by Schenck (1926:134-136) and Cook (1955a:62-63) that the Tauquimne represented fugitive Karkin Costanoans fleeing from Carquinez Strait into the Delta.<sup>15</sup> The last Karkin appeared in the baptismal register of Mission Dolores in 1810; with many more than 83 baptisms (an unknown number must have been baptized at Mission San Jose as "del Norte"), and with a peak in 1802, it was one of the larger coastal tribelets and had a slightly trailing but normal frequency curve for an exhausted tribelet. The first Tauquimne was not recorded at Mission San Jose until 1815. These two variants were always spelled differently in the separated year sequences and have consistent and proper "people of" suffixes relative to the locations as given on Maps 2 and 3 herein. The Tauquimne baptismal curve is normal, with a peak of baptisms in 1824 and exhaustion in 1828; such could hardly have resulted from a small, fugitive group which moved into foreign territory to avoid missionization. Finally, the female personal names available for the Tauquimne are not at all similar to those of the Karkin Costanoan; the former are typical Yokuts.

Turning now to the specific information available on Plains Miwok settlements, the historical, ethnographical, and archaeological sources will be discussed briefly in terms of content and problems.

#### Historical Sources

The historical sources pertinent to Plains Miwok settlements will be dealt with in terms of mission records, exploration diaries, and the Sutter documents; official government reports on military campaigns will be included with the exploration diaries. Brief comments will be added on land grant claims and previous synthesizers of the historical data.

Mission records. With insignificant exceptions and in terms of the boundaries shown on Map 2, all Plains Miwok who underwent the rite of Christian baptism became neophytes of Mission San Jose, the fourteenth mission



established by the Franciscan Order of the Catholic Church in Alta California. Founded on June 11, 1797, this mission was preceded on the shores of San Francisco Bay by the Mission Santa Clara de Asis (1777) and the Mission San Francisco de Asis (1776; termed Mission Dolores herein).

Conversion of the aboriginal population living on San Francisco Bay and the adjacent hills of the Coast Range was essentially completed by 1810. One year later, the priests at Mission San Jose and Mission Santa Clara evidently established a territorial boundary in the northern San Joaquin Valley. Villages from Tamcan northward were to be under the exclusive jurisdiction of Mission San Jose, while villages from Tuguites southward would pertain to Mission Santa Clara; territory of Mission San Juan Bautista began at the Merced River. After 1811, two distinct sets of village names appear in the San Jose and Santa Clara registers, with the major exception of the Laquisimas Yokuts.<sup>16</sup> Strategic villages relative to this boundary can be located from the diaries of Viader (1810) and Abella (1811), as discussed by Cook (1955a, 1960). The absence of villages south of Jusmite ("Josmites") on the 1824 map (Map 4a, herein) confirms the proposed boundary. The 1811 agreement was respected by Mission Dolores and the two later missions (San Rafael, 1817; San Francisco Solano, or Sonoma, 1823), for no Plains Miwok appear in the baptismal registers of these missions. This establishment of exclusive jurisdiction has greatly simplified the analysis of Plains Miwok tribelet names for it drastically restricts the number of names of uncertain Miwok or Yokuts affiliation in the records and virtually eliminates a residue of unplaceable names possibly associated with the Plains Miwok (many more names in the Santa Clara register at present lack any mapped location because fewer Northern Yokuts survived missionization).

Relationships between Mission San Jose and Mission Dolores were more complicated, and the names of Plains Miwok tribelets are mixed with those of diverse linguistic groups in the San Jose register. Between the years 1816-1820, Indian proselytizers from Mission San Jose ranged across the entire north shore of San Francisco Bay on the northern fringe of territory reserved for Mission Dolores. The presence of members of the same Patwin, Bay Miwok and Coast Miwok tribelets at both Dolores and San Jose indicates a much vaguer or poorly respected agreement as to jurisdiction between these two missions than is evident with Santa Clara. Altimira's lack of knowledge of the north shore when he explored for the future site of Mission Solano supports the view that Indian proselytizers (notably the Cholbon Yokuts) were responsible for the extensive territory covered by Mission San Jose. Fortunately, the problematical tribelets in this region do not involve Plains Miwok. While various boundaries on the north shore are controversial, it is felt that a combined study of personal names recorded in mission registers and available ethnographic data support the boundaries shown on Map 2 (see Chapter 6).

The first Plains Miwok, from the Quenemsia tribelet, were baptized in 1811. Plains Miwok baptisms continued to be recorded at Mission San Jose until 1836, which was the effective date of the official act of secularization in 1834. Names of 25 of the 28 Plains Miwok tribelets are represented if Miwok neophytes at Mission San Jose. Occasional baptisms were recorded at Mission Santa Clara until 1839, where two more Plains Miwok from tribelets 15 and 27 (?) may appear.



Only copies of the original baptismal registers were available for this study. The most accurate is that made by S. R. Clemence in 1919 for Merriam, now on file with the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley; the pertinent data have been published in Merriam (1955, 1968, 1970). An incomplete, inaccurate, and often illegible "copy" of the Mission San Jose register was made by A. Pinart (ms.) for Bancroft; although it had to be used for personal names and marriage data, it was not used for tribelet names or dates once its internal inconsistencies and inaccuracies became apparent. Familiarity with the original register of Mission Solano indicates that originals should be used whenever possible; though the wealth of data contained in the registers of this establishment probably reflects the fact that it was the last of the California missions to be founded, the mere elimination of errors of transmission justifies the effort involved in gaining access to the original documents.

A vital map, the "Plano de la Mision de San Jose" (Anonymous ms.), appears to represent in cartographic form the territory under the jurisdiction of this establishment. Referred to hereafter as the "1824 Map" (see Map 4), this basic source shows eighteen "Christian" (largely neophyte) and "Gentile" (mostly non-baptized) "rancherias" in the Delta region, including Bay Miwok, Plains Miwok and Yokuts tribelets. The distinctness of several controversial groups (e.g., Anizumne, Junizumne) is demonstrated thereby, and clues to location are provided. Complete exhaustion of the aboriginal population of the east shore of San Francisco Bay and the adjacent hills is indicated by absence of any "rancherias" (the Chupcan were extinct and survived only as a place name; only peripheral Julpun remained, since the village symbol for this group was placed on a largely uninhabitable island). Data available in the baptismal records support the accuracy of the map as of 1824. The Guaypeme are not shown but may have been confused with the Musupumne. Unfortunately, geographic relationships on the map are so distorted that locations become a major interpretive problem because of the innumerable sloughs and river channels of the Delta. It is clear that the Spanish still had no accurate concept of land or drainage east of the Delta. Nevertheless, relative locations are excellent and can frequently be checked from the diaries. Because of this, the map is our first anchor in the study of Plains Miwok ethnogeography.

Exploration diaries. Moraga fortunately recorded the location of the change from the Yokuts to the Miwok language when he led the first Spanish expedition into Plains Miwok territory in 1806 (he returned in 1808). Despite this his name is low on the list of those who have contributed a significant body of information of Plains Miwok settlements. Had he only obtained the names of the 12 Cosumnes River villages which he counted in 1808, the uncertainty which exists about this section would never have developed. Likewise, Abella failed to name some pertinent villages during his exploration of the south Delta in 1811. Hence, further discussion of Moraga and Abella will be deferred until Chapter 6.

The second and firmest anchor for multiple villages of the Plains Miwok is provided by the excellent diaries kept by both Duran (Cook 1960:273-276) and Arguello (Cook 1960:276-279) on their 1817 exploration of the north and south Delta. The south Delta exploration concerned only Yokuts and can be omitted. The data contained in the account of the exploration of the north



Delta allows the location of many Plains Miwok villages to be plotted with accuracy. While the measurement of distance recorded in variable leagues is sometimes a problem, the contortions of the Sacramento River and its tributary sloughs, along with additional details, are so specific that few serious controversies have arisen in the several published accounts of these explorations, including those of Bancroft, Schenck and Cook. Moreover, these diaries provide far more than mere village locations. In the interpretation which follows, it will be suggested that Duran and Arguello have provided the key to the understanding of a series of oddly localized events concerning the Ochejamne and surrounding tribelets in the north Delta which have previously been treated as isolated and unconnected. Their accounts are crucial to the location of several tribelets in the region. Full presentation of the evidence is impossible here; only the barest outline will be sketched and interested readers are referred to other sources for details.<sup>17</sup> Reference hereafter to this 1817 expedition will be made only in Duran's name, though Arguello deserves equal credit.

Many complex problems are involved in interpreting the mission records and relating them to the exploration diaries. In resolving apparent contradictions, it is important to pay close attention to the dates in the mission records and relate shifts in baptisms and recorded marriages to the history of wars, alliances, and epidemics which may be expected to have affected the efforts of the missions. The importance of following the general historical situation can be illustrated by a discussion of the appearance of the Ochejamne and Junizumne in the mission records and their later relationships to Vallejo's system of Indian alliances. The Ochejamne did not appear in the baptismal registers until 1829, some 16 years after a nearby and closely affiliated neighbor (Junizumne) had first appeared. In fact the Ochejamne were the last of the major Plains Miwok tribelets to be represented at the mission, coming in eight years after the northernmost missionized Miwok tribelet on the Sacramento (Gualacomne). This fact was puzzling, for the Ochejamne were the largest tribelet on the Sacramento, their location was so firmly fixed by Duran that it could not be shifted, and their existence had been known to the priests at least as early as 1817. When marriage data were collected and analyzed it became clear that there was virtually no intermarriage between the Ochejamne (and the Junizumne) and the members of other tribelets. This fact brought to mind a number of half-forgotten or misinterpreted details, including a battle over the protection of fugitives and the oddly abandoned villages noted by Duran in 1817. The following interpretation is offered as a consistent solution to an old puzzle. It begins with a poorly documented battle in 1813.

In October, 1813, Soto, with 100 Indian auxiliaries, attacked the forces of four unnamed villages on a marshy island in the north Delta. The Spanish attempted a surprise attack on one village at dawn, but were utterly dismayed to find that their coming had been detected, and that they were opposed by "1000" men from four villages (three of which remained unnamed). After a fierce battle in which one alcalde was killed and Soto contemplated retreat, the Indians finally withdrew into the adjacent woods (Cook 1960:265-266). The burial of the neophyte alcalde was noted at Mission San Jose and the name of the attacked village is given as "Unsumnes" (Savage ms.:25). In addition to details given by Soto, the location of this attacked village was pinned down by Duran (Cook 1960:275, May 21) in 1817 by reference to the death of the



alcalde. The village can be placed on the marshy island formed near the juncture of the Sacramento River, Snodgrass Slough, and the Mokelumne River, quite near Walnut Grove (the latter probably derives its name from the protective "monte" referred to by Soto). "Unsumne" appears only once in the mission register and denotes a single neophyte, baptized in 1813. By means of the connecting "Unisumne" variant there can be little doubt that "Unsumne" is a variant of Junizumne, a conclusion supported by the placement of "Unisumne" on the 1824 map and varied data supplied by the dates and spellings in the mission registers. It follows, therefore, that Junizumne can be placed close to Walnut Grove and had no relation to Anizumne or Cosomne, as concluded by others (Cook 1960:288, note 288), since all three names appear on the 1824 Map as contemporaneous tribelets.

Data on marriages and delayed baptisms presented in Chapter 5, together with alliances to be noted below, indicate that the other three tribelets who supported the Junizumne in the 1813 battle were the Ochejamne, the Chupumne, and the Siusumne. There is no supporting evidence that the groups involved were the Lelamne (or the intended Ylamne), Cosomne, Anizumne, or four villages of a single tribelet (each with 475 people!) as proposed by Cook (1955a:64).

Aside from the specific locations provided by Duran, the major detail of additional pertinence contained in the diaries of the 1817 expedition is that both Chupumne and Ochejamne were abandoned when visited, as were an unknown number of unnamed (subsidiary?) villages. One of these villages may have been in a "ruined" state, but such could not have been the case for the tribelet centers. It was the month of May when the flooded plains were muddy and other villages to the southwest and north were still occupied. It would be difficult not to conclude that, just as Soto had been detected in 1813 before he arrived, the Ochejamne and Chupumne had also been forewarned; fearing reprisal or not willing to engage in battle again, the inhabitants fled their villages to hide in the willows and woods. Similar evasion was documented by Abella for the Yokuts in 1811 (Cook 1960:263, Oct. 23).

In 1824 the San Jose Map shows only the Anizumne and Chucumne "rancherias" as predominantly Christian, along with their southern Bay Miwok neighbors, the Ompin and Julpun. The Quenemsia (peak frequency of baptism 1825), Junizumne (peak frequency 1828) and Ochejamne (first baptism 1829, peak frequency 1830) as well as more distant easterly neighbors are shown as nonbaptized.<sup>18</sup> Beyond the limits of the map were northern neighbors who were still largely or completely non-missionized according to the baptismal register, and the grouping is significant. The first Ylamne and Gualacomne had been baptized in 1818 and 1821, respectively; however, the Siusumne delayed until 1827, and the Chupumne did not yield until 1828, only one year before the Ochejamne. Note that the Ylamne and Gualacomne are farther from Mission San Jose than the Siusumne and Chupumne.

As already discussed, the year 1828 is a significant marker since most of the tribelets occupying the Delta proper, including the Quenemsia, Guaypemne, Musupumne and Sotolomne disappeared from the mission register, and only the latter reappeared briefly in the Sutter period. In 1829, when the first two Ochejamne were finally baptized, a general wave of resistance appears to have swept the valley. Perhaps beginning among the Yokuts around 1826, when the famed rebel Estanislao escaped from Sanchez, it continued after the



inconclusive campaign against Estanislao in 1829. The years 1830-1833 are almost blank in the mission registers except for two tribelets--the Ochejamne and Junizumne.

In 1830 there occurred another battle on the lower Sacramento River; though not located as precisely as that of 1813, the participants are named and the associations are particularly meaningful (Cook 1962:187). It is stated that the Junizumne ("Yunisumenes") had angered the missions by protecting fugitive neophytes and were attacked by the Mexicans, who had assumed control of California from Spain in 1825. In this battle of 1830, the Ochejamne came to the aid of their neighboring tribelet. The Mexicans were supported by unusual allies--three largely non-baptized local tribelets from the adjacent north. These were the Siusumne ("Sigousamenes"), the Ylamne ("Ilamenes"), and the Cosomne ("Cosomes").<sup>19</sup> The fact that these were not the customary neophyte auxiliaries, particularly in this year of general resistance to the mission, would indicate that peculiarly hostile relations existed between this Ochejamne-Junizumne alliance and its northern neighbors.

That there were differential social contacts involved in this region has already been indicated by the pocket of delayed baptism which was centered among the large Ochejamne group. The Ylamne had begun to yield to conversion some 11 years before the Ochejamne, and the Cosomne had first appeared in the baptismal register three years before the Ochejamne, though their serious battle with the Spanish in 1820 was only six years in the past at the time. The Siusumne, belonging usually to the resisting group, had for some reason shifted their allegiance to the mission side in this particular battle.

Marriage relationships--those which are available--also indicate lack of unobstructed contacts in this region.<sup>20</sup> Despite the large size of the Ochejamne tribelet, the only marriage with outside groups in available data was the taking of a wife from the Siusumne. Likewise, only a single foreign wife is indicated for the Junizumne, though she came from the Cosomne. The most striking evidence is provided by the 22 foreign marriages recorded for the Ylamne (15 marriages) and Gualacomne (7 marriages); more than 80% of all marriages outside each tribelet took place with the other, or with the more distant Olonapatme (east of the Cosumnes River; see tribelet 15).

Since cross-cousin marriage was preferred among the Plains Miwok, two lots of indirect evidence support the long-continued avoidance of marriage with the Ochejamne and Junizumne by other tribelets of the region. First, not a single Ochejamne wife was baptized with her foreign husband from any adjacent tribelet prior to 1829. Since neighboring tribelets (such as the Ylamne and Sotolomne) were contracting marriages with such distant and totally foreign (Yokuts) tribelets as the Yatchicumne and Laquisimas, this is indeed puzzling. The Ochejamne, as the largest tribelet on the Sacramento River (and rivaling the Muqueleme as the largest of all Plains Miwok tribelets), should have occupied a position of prestige. The data for the Junizumne cannot be abstracted from available figures, but a similar conclusion would be indicated by the evidence cited below.

The second lot of evidence is available because the only baptisms recorded at Mission San Jose in 1830 were 115 Ochejamne; the only baptisms which appear in 1831 were 268 Ochejamne, 10 Locolomne, and 6 Junizumne. The



Locolomne appear to have been a Mokelumne River tribelet, and available data suggest that their association is fortuitous. The data for 1830 would imply that no foreign wives whatever (not even Junizumne) were baptized with Ochejamne husbands. Even if it were assumed that the 16 Locolomne and Junizumne baptized in 1831 were all wives of Ochejamne men one must still conclude that few foreign wives were present. Unfortunately, the data are such that at least two interpretations are possible. These are listed in order of probability, but the uncertainties are too great to merit further discussion at this time.

a. Because of peculiar antagonisms or preferences the Ochejamne and Junizumne had established tribelet endogamy as the preferred marriage. Both tribelets were large enough so that multiple lineages would have been available as spouse sources. (The total of 428 Ochejamne baptisms and 119 Junizumne baptisms might reasonably be doubled to obtain total population). No reason for the existence of such a rule is immediately apparent. Although there is clear evidence that marriage within the tribelet was typical of these valley villages, all other tribelets with adequate samples reflect some marriage outside the tribelet (and there are single examples of such even for the Ochejamne and Junizumne). It is therefore apparent that multi-lineage tribelets were typical of the Plains Miwok. The marriage data do not support the suggestion that tribelets were only single extended family communities or single clan communities made by Driver and Massey (1957:413, Map 159). No suggestion of intrusion is present, although archaeological data are not available, and the groups involved appear as typical -mne Plains Miwok (in contrast to their southern neighbors, the Quenemsia).

b. The Ochejamne and Junizumne had achieved clan organization.<sup>21</sup> No adequate discussion of this problem will be presented here, but the following considerations may be noted. The only reports of the wife joining the husband's group (or the husband joining the wife's group) are extremely late, and the latter possibility is completely aberrant in terms of the usual view of Central California social organization, as supported by kinship terms (Chapter 3). However, there is no question that the early ethnographers did not realize the large size of some of the Valley villages, and few, if any, informants familiar with conditions prior to the 1833 depopulation were available. Both archaeology and ethnography provide suggestions that the inhabitants of the Great Valley were on the verge of a cultural transformation at the time of historic contact; incipient clans (Goldschmidt 1948) and tribes (Kroeber 1925:474-475) are suggested by some data; perhaps the Ochejamne and Junizumne had achieved clans. In view of the close and long continued cooperation evident between these two tribelets, there is no explanation for lack of marriage ties between them, and the large size of the Ochejamne, at least, would call for some system of lumping relatives together into larger units. However, it is equally clear that no other tribelets had well developed clans, because different tribelets are recorded for each spouse when married couples were baptized together. It may be added that the single foreign marriages known for the Ochejamne and Junizumne date from 1834, the year after the Great Valley was ravaged by malaria (Cook 1955b). The depopulation which resulted was such that clans would no longer be needed and it may have become necessary for the few Ochejamne and Junizumne men remaining outside the mission by this date to take foreign wives.



The final event of pertinence to the interpretation of the interrelationships being presented occurred during the post-mission, pre-Sutter interim. With secularization of the missions in 1836, most of the newly baptized (post-1828) Indians returned to their former territories, and the Ochejamne were among them. Plains Miwok-European contact then shifted from San Jose to Sonoma, where Vallejo had taken over the lands once belonging to Mission Solano and had become a paternalistic protector of the associated neophytes (largely Patwin). Vallejo rapidly expanded his domain to include most of the north shore of San Francisco Bay, and one of his techniques was the contracting of various treaties with the Indian groups which still survived as organized tribelets. The eastern limit of Vallejo's domain, prior to the arrival of Sutter in 1839, was the lower Sacramento River; in October of 1837 he signed treaties with the Ochejamne and "Sicomne" (probably the Siusumne; see tribelet 5) (Vallejo ms. 1:65, ms. 2:86).<sup>22</sup> The brief comments available imply that a mutual defense pact was involved; the Indians probably agreed to serve as spies, scouts and a buffer against the rampant, horse-stealing tribelets on the lower Cosumnes and the Mokelumne Rivers; in return, Vallejo appears to have agreed to provide assistance should the Muqueleme or neighboring groups attack his Indian allies. In March of 1838 the two Sacramento River tribelets attacked the Muqueleme and recovered horses which they delivered to Vallejo; the appearance of two Siusumne "Chiefs" at Sonoma in April, seeking protection from the Muqueleme, may indicate reprisal by the latter tribelet; in August a group of Muqueleme appear to have been defeated at the entrance to Napa Valley, thus averting a feared attack on Sonoma. With the arrival of Sutter, the Indians appear to have shifted their allegiance to the north, and in the spring of 1840 the Ochejamne are reported to have joined the Tauhalame and Laquisimas Yokuts in a raid on Napa Valley which was repulsed. At least one other campaign against the "Sacramento Indians" appears to have ended these difficulties; by July 1840 the Ochejamne and immediately adjacent groups had abandoned their tribelet lands in the north Delta and were living at New Helvetia.

In summary, then, the following three points can be proposed from this analysis of the data contained in the exploration diaries and mission records pertaining to the north Delta:

The Ochejamne, the largest tribelet on the Sacramento River, represented a focal point of resistance to missionization. The inhabitants rejected the rite of baptism for a longer period of time than any but the most peripheral Plains Miwok tribelets. In addition, this tribelet provided protection for fugitives escaping from the mission, and twice (1813, 1830) defended its right to do so. This seems to have prompted a similar attitude on the part of three adjacent tribelets, the Junizumne, Siusumne, and Chupumne. This block of opposition delayed penetration of mission activities farther north along the Sacramento River, and contributed to the non-representation of Nisenan villages in the mission register.

Differential social contact with adjacent tribelets also appears to have been centered in this tribelet. As the largest and most powerful tribelet in the vicinity, marriage contracts with the Ochejamne should have been advantageous to nearby tribelets of smaller size. For unknown reasons, such marriages were not made. Instead, demonstrable hostility existed between the Ochejamne and the following tribelets: Ylamne, Cosomne, Tihuechemne,



Sotolomne, and Muqueleme. One can infer from marriage ties and acceptance of baptism that the Gualacomne also belonged in the opposing camp, while the Siusumne occasionally joined this group. Primary centers of opposition to the Ochejamne would appear to have been the Cosomne, largest of the Cosumnes River tribelets, and the Muqueleme, largest of the Mokelumne River tribelets. At least in the historic period, consistent tribelet alliances resulted in action which appears to be tribal (i.e., supra-tribelet) in nature. This provides partial support for the existence of three of Merriam's (1907:348-351) Plains Miwok "tribes," namely the "Ochakumne," "Mokozumne," and "Mokalumne." However, the historic documents provide no indication of the existence of recognized tribal names, and provide clear evidence that the decision to cooperate in terms of alliances rested with the fully independent tribelet. While the example of (or pressure from?) Yokuts tribes may have influenced the aboriginal political structure of southerly Plains Miwok (particularly the Muqueleme), the available evidence suggests that European intrusion was the primary determinant for the formation of the larger alliances typical of the historic period. The differential groupings which resulted perhaps support the speculation that the Spanish acted as a catalyst which stimulated the development of tendencies already in process aboriginally, since the peculiar division into opposing Ochejamne and Cosomne camps in the face of common peril has no physiographic or ecological explanation.

The data available for the north Delta can be offered as a case example of the non-mobility of tribelets. Despite extreme pressure, the Ochejamne and their neighbors remained in their villages throughout the period of mission contact. The north Delta tribelets did not abandon their lands until, weakened by disease, they realized that their position was hopeless in the midst of a larger struggle between the opposing forces of Vallejo on the west, Sutter on the north, the Muquelemne on the east, and the rancheros of the Santa Clara Valley on the south.

The remaining documents pertinent to the Plains Miwok of the pre-Sutter period deal only with single groups (Cosomne, Muqueleme) and will be referred to under the specific tribelet in Chapter 5. The Mexican period is characterized by a lack of documentation relative to Indian affairs, but scattered references testify to the ingrained fear of Indian attack felt by the inhabitants of San Jose and Sonoma. The frequent Indian raids on the ranchos adjacent to these towns led to an increasing number of formally unrecorded punitive attacks on guilty and non-guilty Indian villages alike (cf. Heizer 1941). The high prices paid for Indian children (who served as slave labor) by many rancheros and townspeople led to disruptive conflict between different tribelets, only an echo of which appears in the documents. Completely new relationships developed with the arrival of Sutter on the American River in 1839, which were so distinctive that the years between 1839 and 1850 in the Sacramento Valley may well be termed the Sutter period.

Sutter documents. In 1839, John A. Sutter founded New Helvetia (Sutter's Fort, modern Sacramento), thus becoming the first European to settle on the actual plain of the Great Valley. Making immediate friends with the Gualacomne Miwok on the Sacramento River and the Yusumne Nisenan on the American River, he employed an ever increasing number of local Indians in the construction of a strong fort on the south bank of the confluence of these two rivers. He skillfully utilized loans, gifts, warfare, and international



rivalries to build a short-lived empire just beyond the lengthening shadow of Monterey and Sonoma. Before he was toppled by crop-trampling argonauts who swept all before them in 1850, he had completed the acculturation of Plains Miwok begun by the Spanish priests.

Within a year of its founding, remnants of many missionized tribelets had moved to New Helvetia to provide food and labor for Sutter and his Kanaka helpers. He quickly ended threatened uprisings of tribelets on the Cosumnes and Mokelumne Rivers in 1840 and 1841, and with the exception of a Muqueleme raid in 1846, his relationship with Plains Miwok tribelets was peaceful and complementary. Indians already familiar with Western ways from life at the mission were allotted special tasks or trained as craftsmen; others made adobe bricks, hunted, fished, trapped and served as general labor in the fields and on the range. Sutter instituted his own special currency to replace the expensive glass beads normally used in trade with the Indians, clothed their nakedness, restricted their polygyny, and had turned many into agricultural share-croppers by 1848. Then suddenly, amid the chaos of the Gold Rush, the Plains Miwok virtually vanished from the historic record.

A large group of Plains Miwok names are referred to by Sutter and his various visitors. Sutter's slight interest in recording ethnogeography was directed toward the Nisenan, and a remarkably consistent set of documents resulted for the settlements on the Feather and American Rivers. In contrast, his unquestionable knowledge of Plains Miwok groups was put down in the form of various lists or noted occasionally in a short-lived diary. Tribelet locations were seldom given other than as "east of the Sacramento" or "between the American and Mokelumne" rivers, and the original inhabitants of the site of New Helvetia itself are not known with certainty. Tribelets speaking the same language were well known to Sutter, but an occasional visitor misunderstood the geographical details even of his general placements. Despite the frustrating rarity of location, data contained in the Sutter documents provided crucial information as to the contemporary tribelets which survived missionization. The Hale list gave linguistic affiliations for many Plains Miwok tribelets which otherwise would be unidentifiable. The Gatten census provided vital information on surviving tribelets as the end approached. Taken together, the various sources given below provide a clear picture of the post-mission period, and graphically document the decline of the Plains Miwok, as name after name disappeared with each succeeding year. Though none of the data are complete, the contrast is striking: the 15 tribelets listed as Plains Miwok by Hale in 1841 had been reduced to three (two names were then thought of as synonymous) when Prince Paul arrived in 1850.

The following sources have been included as basic Sutter documents. Other references to single groups will be included in the discussion of the pertinent tribelet.

1840: Phelps (ms.) listed 11 Plains Miwok tribelets in the log of the ship Alert when he visited Sutter in July, 1840. Seven missionized tribelets were grouped together, but more distant groups still living away from the Fort were confused. Degree of missionization, contemporaneity of tribelets, and a fine example of errors of transmission are all represented.



From other variants given in the Hale list and the New Helvetia Diary it is clear that Phelps either misread Sutter's handwriting or some copyist misread that of Phelps, because several oddly spelled and unique names appear in his list; however, the nature of the error is obvious, as indicated below.

<u>Phelps</u>	<u>Reconstructed Original Name</u>	<u>Name Used Herein</u>
Losumnes	Cosumnes (initial <u>C</u> misread as <u>L</u> )	Cosomne
Omutchamnes		Amuchamne
Ochejamnes		Ochejamne
Chupumnes		Chupumne
Sololumnes		Sotolomne
Walagumnes		Gualacomne
Tecscalemnes	Tusealemnes ( <u>ec</u> = <u>u</u> , <u>c</u> = <u>e</u> )	Tusealemne

Phelps also noted that:

Another large village of Bushunemnes reside on the American fork, on the Feather River are the Secumnes, Yusuminess, Kyski, and Yalesumnes, also far to the south are the Hock, Olesumnes, and Yuku.

It is clear from this that Phelps obtained a confused notion of the local geography. The "Feather River" groups are firmly fixed by other sources as American River Nisenan and belong with the Pusune ("Bushunemnes"). The last three groups were to the north, not the south, and should have been associated with the Feather River by Phelps. Since this listing was given in the ship's log, one can presume that Phelps made the entry from memory and garbled the statement given by Sutter.

In view of these unquestionable errors, little geographic importance need be attached to the following entry, in which the "Soclomnes" and "Laygayaccumnes" are separated from the "Unkulemenes," and the "Wapumnes" are probably mislocated. "Farther to the south were the Unkulemnes discharged from Mission San Jose for want of food." (The unique Unkulemnes are the Muqueleme, the original Mu having been misread as Un, a common error).

"Still farther south" were the:

<u>Phelps</u>	<u>Reconstructed Original Name</u>	<u>Name Used Herein</u>
Siclimnes	Lielimne (initial <u>Lie</u> misread as <u>Sic</u> )	Lelamne.
Soclomnes	Loclomne (initial <u>L</u> misread as <u>S</u> )	Locolomne
Wapumnes		Wapumne
Laygayaccumnes	Saygayaccumnes (initial <u>S</u> misread <u>L</u> ).	Sakayakumne

1841: Hale (1846:30), as a member of the Wilke's Expedition, obtained a list of 15 Plains Miwok tribelets from Sutter, and distinguished them from nine Nisenan tribelets. A vocabulary collected by Dana from the village of Talatui on the Cosumnes River, and three Nisenan vocabularies (the tribelets as designated herein were Sama, Sek, and Pusune) were also published as the first linguistic data to appear from Central California. The Talatui clearly spoke Plains Miwok, and there is no reason to doubt that the 15 other tribelets listed by Hale as speaking the same language were also Plains Miwok.



These tribelets have been noted in Chapter 5. The list has been published by so many individuals (including among others, Latham, Bancroft, Powell and Hodge) that it will not be included here as a unit. Language spoken and contemporaneity are established; certain confusions of location will be discussed in Chapter 6.

1845-1848: Sutter (1939) kept no organized account of his early years of isolation; what little is known must be extracted from a few contemporary letters and his reminiscences (the latter source is obviously dependent on the New Helvitia Diary because his reminiscences for the early years are vague) (Landis 1913). As his dream of American conquest seemed to be approaching realization, he appointed various individuals to keep a daily record of names and events, beginning on September 9, 1845, and continuing through May 25, 1848, some five months after the discovery of gold at Coloma. Plains Miwok, Nisenan and Yokuts tribelets were referred to in various capacities (most frequently as visiting headmen bringing a labor force), but locations were given for only three Yokuts tribelets. From the references one can often determine whether or not the groups involved lived in New Helvetia, while reference to "chiefs" supports tribelet status for a number of poorly known names.

1846: Taylor (1860:122) listed eight Plains Miwok tribelets and two Nisenan groups (without distinguishing language or location) as having lived between the American and Mokelumne Rivers before 1846, according to Sutter. Fortunately, the Nisenan tribelets have firm locations from other sources.

1846: In November, 1846, Sutter employed Gatten to make a census of Indians living in the general vicinity of New Helvetia. The only record of this undertaking which has survived consists of two duplicate lists of tribelets (tribelet names are slightly variant in five instances) which are labeled "Names of Part of the Tribes of Indians in the Sacramento Valley" (Heizer and Hester 1970:96). Total population (also number of males and females) is given individually for six missionized ("tame") tribelets and 28 "wild" tribelets. From other sources it can be determined that the missionized groups included three Plains Miwok and three Yokuts groups; the "wild" tribelets included only nine Plains Miwok groups, while the remainder represented Foothill and Valley Nisenan, and Valley Maidu. Unfortunately, no specific locations are given, and the missionized Indians are listed separately, thus providing no clues to the location of the "wild" Indians. However, a sufficient number of locations are available from other sources to indicate that Gatten proceeded down the Mokelumne River, (two villages) up the Cosumnes River (seven villages), down the American river and up the Feather River. The placement of "Omutchamne" supports the location of Amuchamne on the upper Cosumnes River aboriginally rather than at the town of Elk Grove where ethnographers found the last remnants of the Plains Miwok. The sequence also supports the movement of the Nisenan village of Yuseumne from the American River to the upper Cosumnes River between 1843 and 1846. The much smaller populations for known valley villages as opposed to known foothill villages confirms the route and indicates that Gatten went from Yuseumne up Little Indian Creek to Yuleyumne in the foothills (modern Plymouth) and then went back to the valley to record the two uppermost Plains Miwok villages on the Cosumnes ("Yamlocklock, Lapototot").



1850: Sutter gave Prince Paul (Clark 1959:296) of Wurtemberg a short Cosumne vocabulary along with the names of three Plains Miwok tribelets ("Mokelemes, Kosumes or Wallagomne"), along with 10 Nisenan-Maidu tribelets, two Yokuts groups, and two River Patwin tribelets. No other visitor received so few Miwok names; though doubtless incomplete, this source does provide dramatic testimony to the declining population of Plains Miwok, once the dominant group among Sutter's Indians.

The same testimony is provided by the single contemporary American period source to give a Plains Miwok Indian name. When Barbour, McKee and Wozencraft arrived as representatives of the government of the United States in 1851, only one possible Plains Miwok tribelet was sufficiently cohesive to sign the never-to-be-honored treaty which guaranteed a reservation on the upper Cosumnes River (Royce 1899:786). Acting in good faith at the forks of the Cosumnes River, the "Loc-Lum-ne" agreed to relinquish their native territory. It is probable that this group can be identified with the Locolomne, who seem to have left the Mokelumne River about 1841 and moved to the foothills near Ione. Except for one land grant claim the few other names given by Americans are after-the-fact recollections, and such sources will be included in the ethnographic data.

Land grant claims. Geographic place names were often so sparse on land awarded to various individuals by the Spanish and Mexican government that it was common practice to name these tracts after Indian groups who were reputed to have once lived in the vicinity. Occupation of the land was seldom possible if tribelets were still organized, so most land grants have only a vague association with the Indians after which they were named. Three land grants awarded by the Mexican government and honored by the American government bore Indian names: Cosumnes, San Jon de los Moquelumnes, and Omochumnes. The first two have no specific relationship to aboriginal tribelet territory, but remnants of the Amuchamne were still resident on the Cosumnes River when Sheldon obtained the latter land grant in 1847. The maps submitted to American authorities as proof of the ownership are only the vaguest of approximations, but the boundaries of the grant (Sheldon ms.) allow a general placement of the "Ra. de los Omuchumnes" [sic] as well to the north of an intrusive "Ra. de los Muquelmene;" the latter can be located near the modern McConnell on the central portion of the Cosumnes River. Sheldon submitted three maps, of which Map 2 is the most detailed. The correct name of the grant ("Omochumnes") appears only on Map 3; the name is spelled "Omuchumnes" on the other two maps. This provides firm evidence that the Amuchamne did not move to Elk Grove until attracted by American settlement.

Previous synthesizers. Four previous attempts have been made to place some of the many Indian groups referred to in the historical documents on a map. The earliest was that of Taylor, who made a hobby of collecting any and all scraps of information about California Indians and ultimately published his famous Indianology. In 1864, when most of his compatriots were still trying to keep the surviving Indians contained on reservations and prevent their return to their native territory, Taylor (ms.) attempted the first ethnographic map of California. Largely dependent on newspaper accounts and seldom attempting to check the accuracy of his heterogeneous sources, he produced a map which is of interest today only as a museum piece, for few locations are even approximate. Plains Miwok territory is totally blank; the



"Cosumnes" are shown in the foothills on their namesake river (placed where the Calaveras River ought to appear), the "Mokelumnes" are displaced still further south in the foothills, while the "Omochumnes" somehow ended up in the center of the San Joaquin Valley. Certain of his placements reveal that his source was secondary, and it can be said positively that none of his locations in Central California reflect late movements in the historic period.

Bancroft (1883: facing page 322) prepared a tiny map from a wide variety of sources, many of which were sound in themselves, but which were frequently misunderstood; again, the Plains Miwok are poorly represented.

Schenck (1926:Fig. 1 and 2) used the various works of Bancroft as his source and was often misled by errors and omissions in these highly condensed data. Most of his errors have already been noted by Cook (1955a), and will be noted where pertinent in Chapter 5.

In so far as the published record is concerned, Cook (1955a: Map 6) was the first to fully appreciate the wealth of untouched data contained in the historical documents. His major interest was with highly specialized problems of demography, and for his purposes the precise location of each tribelet or village was seldom necessary. Since the linguistic affiliation of many names was uncertain he attempted a largely geographical grouping of the important tribelets by using the original documents plus first and last baptismal dates. However, if the more intensive analysis made here is correct, Cook was often misled by the problem of synonymy and few of his "groups" appear any longer to be geographic units, as indicated for pertinent tribelets in Chapter 5.

### Ethnographical Sources

Two distinct lots of material will be included in this section, one dealing with place names, the other with personal names.

Place names. Only five ethnographers collected more than two or three Plains Miwok place names: Gilbert, Merriam, Barrett, Gifford, and Kroeber. Most of their informants were Northern Yokuts, Northern Miwok, Valley Nisenan and Hill Nisenan; no more than four were specifically identified as Plains Miwok. Gilbert (1879) was an amateur who, near the end of the 19th century, collected some data on the Indians of the Stockton region (two Yokuts and four Plains Miwok tribelets) which no one else obtained. As published in various works (Anonymous 1890:25-31; Tinkham 1923:38-58), his information contributes to our understanding of the final occupation of the Mokelumne River section by three tribelets (Nos. 23, 24, and 28).

Merriam was a biologist turned ethnographer (Kroeber 1955) who recorded Indian place names in his own distinctive orthography (Merriam 1966:22-27). After numerous field trips between 1900-1906 to the Sierra foothills, the American River, and Pleasanton (Merriam 1967:319-321, 325-370), he obtained recollections of 10 Plains Miwok "tribes," and 18 village names on or near the Cosumnes River (Merriam 1907:348-351; for a tabular abstract and map see Merriam 1967:323-324). Although several of the same informants were later contacted by Barrett and Kroeber, the data obtained were frequently quite dissimilar. Jesus Oliver, a Chilamne Yokuts who spoke Muqueleme Miwok,



provided Merriam (ms. 3) with much of the information on six of the 10 "tribes," while Charley Gomez was probably his "Tuolumne" informant. Kroeber (1908:371-374) immediately challenged the Miwok affiliation of the Yatchicumne, Chilamne, and Tauhalame "tribes" and provided Yokuts vocabularies obtained from the same Jesus Oliver and Charley Gomez (see Chapter 6). Unique information was obtained from Paula, a Guaypemne ("Wipa"), in 1905 (Merriam 1967:367-368), who remembered five tribelets (Nos. 1, 6, 8, 12, 16), although historical data will not support all of her geographical placements. Tom Cleanso, a Valley Nisenan, could remember the name of only one Plains Miwok tribelet (No. 1) when contacted by Merriam (1966:45, 62) in 1905, although he recalled four different tribelets (Nos. 2, 19, 22, 27) when contacted by Kroeber (1929:257-259). Chief Hunchup, a Hill Nisenan, provided 11 of the 18 Cosumnes River village place names (Merriam 1967:369-370); some unknown informant gave the additional seven on the lower Cosumnes. Of these 18 names, five are unique and seven have been claimed to be Nisenan; only six can be identified in the pre-1850 historical documents, as discussed in Chapter 5. Merriam's consistent dropping of the -mne suffix in reporting these 18 village names (obtained from Nisenan informants?) eliminated a useful check on the method used herein to separate tribelet centers from subsidiary villages in the historical documents. He continued to collect information on the Miwok, both in the field (e.g., 1910: Merriam 1967: 368-369) and in various libraries (notably Bancroft Library, where he found the Saclan vocabulary, since published by Beeler, and had abstracts made of the mission registers). By 1939, he had completed his map of California Indian tribes (Merriam 1966:14) which shows the addition of the Saclan (actually Bay Miwok) and an expanded Yatchicumne territory. The latter are still classed as Miwok by Merriam (1955:133-138), despite his translation of Maria's Yatchicumne Yokuts vocabulary. A revised version of this map, with different letter designations for each group, is less accurate since the Mokelumne tribelet is placed on the Calaveras River (Heizer 1966: Map 5).

The village names collected by Barrett in 1906 (only two were published in 1908) and by Gifford in 1915 (from Alec Blue, a Hill Nisenan) were incorporated with those reported by Kroeber (1925:444-445, Pl. 37; 1929:259, incl. footnote 12). Unfortunately, Kroeber provided no documentation for any but the six controversial names collected by Gifford. Of Merriam's 18 Cosumnes River names, Kroeber gave only nine; he provided no explanation for his selection nor for occasional shifts in locations from those given by Merriam. It is therefore not clear to what extent Kroeber's list can be considered an independent check on Merriam's data. Most of the Cosumnes River names were reported without suffixes by Kroeber, and, without knowledge of the informants, the same problems of interpretation exist as with the Merriam list.

Personal names. The greatest uncertainty has always surrounded the southern boundary of Plains Miwok speech; the early claims of Costanoan and Yokuts to Plains Miwok territory were never settled precisely, and the recent recognition of Bay Miwok has added one more contender to the dispute.

So far as is known, the ability to speak Plains Miwok survives today (1961) only with one much-aculturated descendant of the Muqueleme, no longer able to provide information on aboriginal boundaries of the language. Speakers of Northern Yokuts, Bay Miwok, Northern Costanoan, and Southern



Patwin were all extinct long ago. The few vocabularies available for these various groups came from individual tribelets and could not be extended in meaningful fashion because of contradictory claims in the ethnographic record. Tribelet names could not be used because a merging of five possible suffixes appeared to overlap linguistic boundaries. The typical -mne suffix of Plains Miwok was also used by adjacent Nisenan and Yokuts, though it had meaning only to Plains Miwok by the time ethnographers questioned the few survivors (Barrett 1908:341; Kroeber 1925:475; 1929:259).

These various suffixes are a linguistic problem beyond the scope of this report. Few meanings have been recorded and the literature contains contradictions. Approaching the problem purely from the historical documents, it is clear that members of a tribelet gave a consistent form as the name of that tribelet, and the endings of these names (here lumped together as suffixes for convenience of reference) show meaningful distributions when placed on a map. The following generalizations can be followed on Maps 2 and 3. In the central region the -mne suffix is centered among the Plains Miwok and means "people of" in that language. (Muqueleme and Quenemsia are the major exception). The historical documents indicate occasional use of the same suffix by Valley and Foothill Nisenan on both sides of the American River. Though an American River Nisenan (Tom Cleanso), raised by his Feather River Nisenan mother (where the suffix was rarely used), did not know the meaning of -umne, there can be no doubt that the inhabitants of these American River villages were bilingual, knowing both Plains Miwok and Nisenan, prior to 1850. The -mne suffix has an extensive but scattered use among the Yokuts, but had no meaning to informants of the early 1900's. In the region of concern, use of -mne was most prevalent among groups adjacent to the Miwok prior to 1850; though not as consistent as for Plains Miwok, names recorded in the Santa Clara register suggest that the -me variation was more typically Northern Yokuts.

Four Yokuts names between the Stanislaus River and Stockton have variable endings (Coybos, Jusmite, Tuguites, Cuyens; the latter never appears with a normal Spanish plural, i.e., Cuyenes). Chief's names may be represented.

Another large block of consistent name suffixes is centered among the Costanoans, virtually all of whom used -n (though individual village names usually ended in -c, especially -ac, -oc). This usage of -n was also followed by the adjacent Northern Yokuts, all Bay Miwok, adjacent Southern Patwin (except the Aguasto), and adjacent Coast Miwok. Two other small centers include the use of -i (especially -mi or -li) by northern Coast Miwok, and the use of variants of -to by the northerly Southern Patwin (-to appears to be typical of Putah Creek, with Aguasto and Napato as southern and western outliers; on Cache Creek, -toy is the consistent Spanish rendering). Several alternative interpretations of such distributions are possible at the present stage of investigation so speculation now seems unwarranted.

Of pertinence to the discussion of personal names which follows, it should be noted that the mission registers never contain the -k or -ko suffix used by Plains Miwok as a third person referent involving distance. At present there is no suggestion that Indian proselytizers, speaking another language told the scribe what name to write. Since the individual baptized



had to give his or her own name, one may assume that this individual also gave the name of his or her tribelet. The -k or -ko suffix does occur in names provided by Gilbert and Vallejo, but not in the Spanish diaries of exploration.

Since neither vocabularies nor tribelet names could be used, the only remaining possibility which might be of use in establishing the ethnic affiliation of controversial tribelets appeared to be the personal names recorded in the baptismal registers after about 1800.<sup>23</sup> To test this possibility, samples of male and female names associated with tribelets of known linguistic affiliation (i.e., for which vocabularies exist or which had a non-peripheral location relative to the language) were made for Costanoan, Yokuts, Coast, Lake and Plains Miwok, Southern Patwin, Wappo and Pomo. The variation exhibited in male names was so extreme that no pattern could be followed. In contrast, in analyzing (often just in copying) the female names it became quite apparent that several endings were consistently repeated among tribelets whose members spoke the same language--a full 65% of Wappo (Huiloc, Caymus, Maiyakma tribelets) female names display the ending -pi, while 60% of Pomo (Gualomi, Livantolomi, Lupucyomi tribelets) female names bear the ending -men. On the other hand, the names from tribelets speaking the Penutian languages, while consistently different from the previous two in the emphasis placed on terminal -e, showed less dissimilarity among themselves. Additional names were collected and more intensive analysis revealed what appear to be distinguishing constellations of endings for each of the languages under consideration within Penutian except for Lake Miwok.<sup>24</sup> Though only a small sample of names could be obtained, the different constellation which emerged from Ompin, Chupcan, Julpun, and Wolwon suggested that these tribelets belonged together as a distinct group of variant Miwok. As discussed at the beginning of Chapter 3, a vocabulary from the Saclan tribelet was known to represent the variant Bay Miwok language. Since the single female name (Eymume) which could be found for Saclan belonged with the Miwok constellation, and since all five tribelets shared the -n suffix, it seemed reasonable to suggest that the four tribelets with variant Miwok names might have spoken the Bay Miwok language rather than Plains Miwok. These four have therefore been lumped together to provide the frequencies of personal names given below for Bay Miwok.

The most common endings of female personal names (given in per cent of total sample) for the pertinent groups are as follows:

Name Endings	Language		
	Yokuts	Bay Miwok	Plains Miwok
-e	72	70	65
-me	28	17	21
-te	28	14	2
-ye	5	26	40
others	11	13	2
-mayen	0	1	22
-s	8	2	0.4
others	20	27	12.6
Total Sample (n):	246	73	294



It can thus be seen that Plains Miwok and Yokuts are significantly different in the frequency of terminal endings. The majority of Plains Miwok female names end in -ye (especially -aye, -maye) or -mayen. In contrast, the common Yokuts endings are -me and -te, and -mayen does not occur. There is a definite emphasis on -s in Yokuts when compared with Plains Miwok. The contrast could be expanded in terms of both sounds and roots, but the different endings are quite sufficient when viewing a list of 20-30 female names from a single tribelet to allow separation into two groups. The Bay Miwok names appear as intermediate, but clearly belong to the Miwok group; the major variation is the virtual non-occurrence of -mayen, and the much higher frequency of -te. As can be seen from the location of the Bay Miwok tribelets, such intermediate frequencies are expectable.

In view of the intermarriage between different language groups which can be demonstrated from the mission registers, the lack of sharp differences between adjacent groups is not surprising, particularly since members of the same linguistic stock are represented. When the most common endings are plotted on a map, tribelet by tribelet, the gradual blend is even more apparent. The Yokuts, Costanoan and Bay Miwok boundaries presented in Maps 2 and 3 are a reflection of the data provided by these personal names. The only definitely problematical tribelet is Chilamne, the 14 names of which are Plains Miwok in character, yet all other evidence indicates Yokuts speech (Kroeber 1908:371). As will be discussed under tribelet 23 in Chapter 5, there is clear evidence of some special relationship between the Muqueleme Miwok and the Chilamne Yokuts, and it appears possible that intermarriage or continual contact had been of such duration that the Chilamne were strongly acculturated to the Plains Miwok pattern. The grouping of Wolwon with the Bay Miwok is also surprising for, if accepted as a distinct group, they previously were considered Costanoan. The personal names are so aberrant from other Costanoan peoples, however, that Bay Miwok affiliation is the more probable; drainage pattern is also in agreement, for the tribelet center was probably on the Valley side of the South Coast Range.

The boundaries here proposed have limited but definite support from the archaeological record.

### The Archaeological Record

Data obtained from the excavation of former village sites of the Plains Miwok and their immediate neighbors have definite bearing on two aspects of the ethnogeographic problem under discussion: the identification of settlements occupied in the historic period, and the determination of different modes of behavior which may be correlated with ethnic affiliations as defined by ethnographers in terms of language. A brief survey of the available archaeological record will therefore be presented in terms of temporal and cultural boundaries. Previous syntheses of the Central California archaeological sequence have appeared in Beardsley (1948), Heizer and Fenenga (1939), and Lillard, Heizer, and Fenenga (1939). The division of the historic era into periods and the subphases discussed for the prehistoric era (including dates) in the text which follows are based on unpublished research still in progress. All dates mentioned fall within the Christian era.

Temporal boundaries. Archaeological excavations in the central Great



Valley have been concentrated within former Plains Miwok boundaries, particularly in sites along the Cosumnes, lower Mokelumne and Sacramento Rivers. Classifiable collections (as of 1961) were available from 94 sites distributed from southern Colusa County to central San Joaquin County, and some 66 of these fell within territory occupied in historic times by the Plains Miwok. The general course of cultural development in this region can be followed at least in outline for some 5000 years; of pertinence here are those village sites which were occupied during the historic era, beginning with the arrival of the Spanish under Portola in 1769, and the protohistoric period which immediately preceded this arrival.

The earlier European contacts along the California coast, including Cabrillo in 1542, Drake in 1579, and several later Spanish voyagers, were so brief and the gaps between contacts so frequent that they have little pertinence to the Great Valley. The beginning date for the historic era has therefore been placed at 1769, the date which marks the first permanent settlement of Europeans in California.

The term protohistoric as used herein refers to the latest prehistoric cultural period which can be distinguished archaeologically. As will be discussed, two subphases are represented, but the period itself began with a significant shift in trade relations, a change in fishing gear, and the introduction of a new bead and ornament complex, all of which persisted with only minor typological change into the historic era. This period began only slightly before the first arrival of European explorers (i.e., Cabrillo). It therefore includes the full duration of possible indirect European influence on aboriginal culture, including the early introduction of diseases previously unknown in California.

Historic habitation of a site can be determined by the presence of artifacts of non-aboriginal manufacture found associated with burials and amid the occupation debris. The most common of such artifacts are glass beads, of many colors and shapes, which were distributed by early European intruders to promote friendship, and given sparingly in return for furs and other trade items; to the Indians these were more valuable than any other wealth object. Well adjusted to their simple technology, the Indians were slow to accept complex tools or metal objects; none appeared in number until contact with mission teachers had demonstrated the efficiency of the foreign implements. The earliest of such objects appears to have been the steel file. Prehistoric abalone ornaments of medium to large size are characterized by incomplete grinding of the dull epidermis which covered the back, and were always perforated by drilling. Once the usefulness of the file had been demonstrated, those Indians who could obtain them ground the epidermis of the shell off completely, producing thinner ornaments with two iridescent surfaces which could be perforated by punching with the triangular end of the file. Finish and form of perforation thus allow the separation of abalone ornaments (one of the most frequent grave offerings) into two distinct groups of native manufacture, one of which has temporal significance (files were so rare that aboriginal techniques continued to be used in the historic period). More readily available than glass beads, these file-made ornaments sometimes identify the early historic period when no other non-aboriginal objects are present.



With such markers, historic occupation can be demonstrated for 24 sites in the central Great Valley. The tabulation of the varied types of glass beads found at these sites, when compared with data available from historically dated sites known elsewhere in California, reveals the existence of four different bead complexes. When analyzed in terms of associated artifacts these complexes appear to be successive in time in the Great Valley, and to have little if any relation to different contemporaneous sources of supply. Glass beads were the standard trade item used by the Spanish (1769-1825), Russians (Fort Ross was built in 1812, abandoned 1841), Hudson's Bay Company fur trappers (1828-1845), Mexicans (1825-1846), Sutter (1839-1850), and Americans (1846 to about 1880), but all appear to have obtained these beads from the same contemporary sources of supply. So far it has not been possible to distinguish a single type within the Mission period as introduced specifically by the Spanish, Russians or Hudson's Bay Company.

The most recent complex can be associated with the American period. Though faceted forms are emphasized, the glass beads reveal fantastic variation in size, shape and color. This complex can be placed as latest on the basis of the associated remains: dated coins, coffin burials, European clothing (buttons, shoes), glass bottles, chinaware, and a great variety of metal utensils and implements. The fondness for clam shell disc beads and abalone ornaments (large pentagonal gorgets are distinctive of the period) was not lost, but few other artifacts of native manufacture remain by this time; those which do occur suggest heirlooms. Despite years of intensive pothunting by local collectors, only three sites within former Plains Miwok territory can be placed in the American period, and all can be identified from documentary sources as cemeteries of the last two organized tribelets of the Plains Miwok, the Amuchamne and Muqueleme-Lelamne (see tribelets 19, 23, 24).

The second glass bead complex is dominated by medium-sized beads, most frequently white or red-with-green-centers. The presence of other types also found in the latest complex allows seriation analysis by which one can demonstrate the successive relationship of the two complexes. Glass beads associated with the Sutter period do not appear to represent two distinct complexes, but rather suggest a transition from the late Mission period complex to the American period complex; the resultant grouping of types is distinctive enough to be recognized, and the late enrichment seems clear at Sac-29. However, no types are limited only to the Sutter period. It may be noted that none of the special tin money manufactured by Sutter after 1844 has yet been found archaeologically, a fact which provides another suggestion that the number of occupied sites was greatly reduced by this date.

The only other non-aboriginal material found in association with this second complex consists of occasional metal knives and files; burial associations indicate the cessation of trade in shell beads obtained from Southern California. Comparative studies and documents of the Sutter period allow temporal placement of this second bead complex. On the Sacramento River the greatest number of types for this complex is found at Sac-29, identifiable as the former tribelet center of the Sama Nisenan, while the smallest number occur in the collection from Sac-56, the tribelet center of the Gualacomne Miwok, as discussed under tribelets 1 and 2 in Chapter 5.<sup>25</sup>



Historical accounts suggest that a fishing station originally maintained by Sutter at Gualacomne was shifted to Sama shortly before 1843; the rarity of metal or other European trade goods at Sac-56 is in agreement with early abandonment of the site, and allows placement of those burials which yielded glass beads of the second complex in the early Sutter period, while the more varied types found at Sac-29 imply a later Sutter period placement. This conclusion is supported by independent data provided by Sac-6, identifiable as the tribelet center of the Cosomne. The glass bead complex from Sac-6 is comparable to that from Sac-56 (lacking many types found at Sac-29), and Fremont noted that the Cosomne were no longer on the Cosumnes River as of 1844 (see tribelet 16). It therefore seems reasonable to associate the second glass bead complex with the Sutter period, and to identify three Plains Miwok tribelet centers which were occupied in the early Sutter period (pre-1845) (see tribelets 2, 16, and 21). One tribelet center, no. 18, would fall in the later Sutter period (1845-1850).

The third bead complex appears as the only addition to a fully aboriginal manifestation of Plains Miwok culture, although the high frequency of infant and child mortality also distinguishes grave plots yielding these beads from those of the prehistoric past; it is clear that disease was widespread in the contemporaneous society. Shell beads imported from Southern California reached a peak frequency. The glass beads of this complex are uniformly small, with simple, rounded shapes; a variety of colors are represented: white, green, black, blue, and red-with-green-centers. Temporal placement of these beads is possible because this is the only complex which appears in sites falling within the boundaries of missionized territory exhausted of tribelet residents by 1828, as discussed under historical sources. This complex appears at 10 sites within Plains Miwok territory, a frequency which suggests that these beads were distributed both by the missions and the fur trappers. Their use continued for the full Mission period. In view of the associations discussed above under the second bead complex, plus the fact that several sites which yielded the third bead complex have no recorded name or can be shown to have been abandoned prior to the Sutter period (see tribelet 1 in Chapter 5), there is sufficient evidence to associate the third bead complex with the Mission period.<sup>26</sup> Evidence available from one historic Solano County site, traditionally associated with Chief Solano, suggests that Vallejo also used beads of the third bead complex in his dealings with Indians, and supports the proposition that the enrichment of types found in the second complex should be associated with Sutter. Because of the associations available for the fourth bead complex (which follows below), the third bead complex can be considered representative of the late Mission period.

The fourth bead complex is quite distinctive and difficult to characterize meaningfully, except that the beads are uniformly small and quite variegated, both in shape and color. This complex is found in purest form on the Channel Islands off the Santa Barbara Coast, known to have been exhausted of population by the mainland missions before 1800; it is also represented on the Southern California Coast and in the southern San Joaquin Valley. While some types may be evidence of contact with Cabrillo in 1542, the types of pertinence to Central California appear to have been distributed by the missions between 1769 and 1800 and the fourth complex will therefore be assigned to the early Mission period. Only one site in former Plains Miwok



territory has yielded beads of the fourth complex (Sac-56). It is possible that trade from the San Francisco Bay missions prior to 1806 or from Southern California via the San Joaquin Valley is represented; evidence provided by the trade in shell beads favors the latter alternative.

The diagnostic marker for the protohistoric period is provided by ethnography. Every monograph dealing with Central California groups which includes a discussion of dress and ornament refers to the strings of clam shell disc beads worn as necklaces and used as money. The primary source of these beads is known to have been Bodega Bay (a short distance north of San Francisco Bay), and trade routes have been determined (Sample 1950:11-13, 15-18). From controlled excavations in site after site, and from the analysis of hundreds of grave lots, it can be demonstrated that clam shell disc beads were the favored bead form in the terminal phases of the prehistoric era, and replaced square beads made of olivella shell. In the published literature dealing with the archaeology of Central California, the appearance of clam shell disc beads marks the end of Phase 1 and the beginning of Phase 2 of the Late Horizon, the latter term designating the latest of three cultural traditions recognized in the region (Beardsley 1948:3-6). Available data suggest that the inception of Phase 2 began about 1500. The description of Indians left by Fletcher in his account of Drake's sojourn at Drake's Bay (?) in 1579 suggests that clam shell disc beads were already in use, but were not yet as abundant as when the Spanish arrived at the end of the 18th century (Heizer 1947). Radiocarbon dates available for the transition from Phase 1 to Phase 2 are consistent with a date of 1500.<sup>27</sup>

Analysis of the archaeological record has permitted the definition of subphases within the Late Horizon. By means of seriation of grave lots, supported by both horizontal and vertical stratigraphy, it is possible to divide Phase 2 into two successive subphases, which will be termed Early and Late Phase 2. The latest is distinguished by the presence of full-lipped olivella beads, magnesite cylinders, and a variety of changes in the form and frequency of many artifact types. Early Phase 2 can be defined by the exclusive use of magnesite disc beads, thin-lipped olivella beads, the disappearance of simple harpoons signifying acceptance of the toggle form in use historically, and various other changes. The occurrence and context of certain abalone ornament types in sites on San Francisco Bay indicate that Late Phase 2 had begun prior to the arrival of the Spanish in 1769, and suggest a beginning date of approximately 1700.

The specific subphases of Phase 1 are not of pertinence here, so it will merely be noted that radiocarbon dates suggest that the Late Horizon began between 300-900 in the Delta region of the Great Valley, and was marked by the appearance of the bow and arrow, tubular stone pipes, simple harpoons, stone discoids, a new form of cremation, and a variety of new shell beads and ornaments. With reference to the Plains Miwok the only significant changes in material culture which followed were the shift from dart and spear thrower to the bow and arrow, and the shift from simple harpoon to toggle harpoon. Otherwise, only typological and frequency changes are evident in the material culture. As will be discussed in the following section, all available evidence suggests that the historic Plains Miwok were the descendants of prehistoric occupants who established territorial boundaries which were essentially coterminous with those still maintained in 1800 by the Plains



Miwok.

In summary, then, the following temporal boundaries are proposed for the historic and ancestral Plains Miwok:

American period: 1850-1881. Refinements are not needed at present.<sup>28</sup>

Sutter period: 1839-1850. Early and late divisions can be separated at 1845.

Mission period: 1769-1839. Early and late divisions can be separated at 1800.<sup>29</sup>

Protohistoric period (Phase 2, Late Horizon): 1500-1769. Early and late divisions can be separated at 1700.

Late prehistoric period (Phase 1, Late Horizon): pre-1500. Three subphases can be defined at present.

Cultural boundaries. The determination of cultural boundaries is one of the poorly understood problems in California ethnography. In order to show specific boundaries on "tribal" maps, an equivalence of language spoken and culture possessed has usually been assumed, and the cultural group has been referred to in terms of a linguistic label. Such usage was also prompted, and often necessitated, by use of the informant method in salvage ethnography, since direct observation was no longer possible for most groups. As a result of this usage, the archaeologist is forced to cope with the problem of what language was spoken by the aboriginal inhabitants who left, as material evidence of their terminal occupation, the artifacts classifiable as "archaeological cultures" (Childe 1950:2) of the historic and protohistoric periods.

However, the fact that language has no necessary linkage with behavior is an oft repeated axiom of anthropology. A classic example is furnished by Northwest California data. Though the boundaries of the three linguistic stocks which converge near the juncture of the Klamath and Trinity Rivers are definite, the culture possessed by the Yurok, Hupa, and Karok has been described as "identical" (Kroeber 1925:5). In the region of Central California being dealt with herein, there is no complete ethnographic description available for the culture of three linguistic groups adjacent to the Plains Miwok--the Northern Yokuts, Bay Miwok, and Southern Patwin. The deficiencies in the ethnographic data on the Plains Miwok themselves have already been noted, while the Northern Miwok are almost unknown archaeologically. This leaves the Valley Nisenan to the north as the only linguistic group which has a limited archaeological record and an ethnographic monograph available for comparison. Unfortunately, our knowledge of Valley Nisenan culture which is presented as typical of the American River is largely dependent on the recollections of one American River informant, born at a post-Sutter period village and raised by a mother who came from the Feather River, who spoke a dialect different from that of the American River (Kroeber 1929:254).<sup>30</sup> The geographic knowledge of this informant was clearly



centered about the Feather River, his statement as to aboriginal mortuary practices can be shown by archaeological evidence to be in error, no perforated toggle harpoons such as he described have yet been found, and it may be questioned whether the earth-lodge was built as a common dwelling on the American River (see endnote 6). In short, many details of Valley Nisenan culture appear to refer to a slightly variant group living on the Feather River (north of the Bear River), rather than to the American River Nisenan.

With such inadequate data it may seem futile to attempt to distinguish a protohistoric Plains Miwok settlement from a Nisenan or Yokuts settlement, particularly since the archaeological record available from territory held in historic times by adjacent non-Miwok groups is quite limited. Nonetheless, distinctive cultural complexes are apparent in the archaeological and historical data, and can be offered as supporting evidence for the boundaries shown on Map 2; the pertinent sites which contributed information used for the following discussion are also shown on this map.

As will become apparent below, many material traits of Plains Miwok culture are definitely linked to the distinctive environment inhabited by this group. The stoneless Delta, falling within a hardwood belt, imposed serious limitations on native technology, which were resolved in various ways. Mortars were of wood, cooking stones and net sinkers were of baked clay, boats were made of tules, lodges were covered with grass and tule, bows were imported, and similar adjustments were necessary. However, there can be no question that the nature of these adjustments was determined culturally, not environmentally. Stone mortars were indeed heavy to carry, but ancient predecessors of the Plains Miwok did import stone mortars, and so did their Yokuts neighbors (also in the Delta) to the south. Pestles could have been made from oak wood, but the Plains Miwok preferred to import simple pestles from the Sierra; their Yokuts neighbors to the south preferred to import carved pestles from the Bay Miwok of the Coast Range. Though stone was available and used for cooking stones, many Nisenan groups preferred to make their net sinkers of baked clay. Valley Maidu villagers collected pine logs (floated down by flood waters) to use for rafts, but still continued to use the tule balsa for boats. No environmental condition can explain why the boundary between the mat-covered lodge and earth-covered lodge fell where it did, nor is there any explanation available at present as to why the inhabitants of the coast and Napa Valley used scapula grass-cutters while the Great Valley inhabitants did not. The list could be extended, but enough has been given to indicate that different groups reacted to the same environment in different ways. Since the archaeologist is seeking to define units of uniform cultural behavior, it is the fact that Plains Miwok women devoted many hours to the manufacture of baked clay cook stones, while Nisenan women merely picked up natural stones in the nearby uplands, which is of primary significance, not the environmental conditions which prompted such differential behavior. Traits given below therefore include some elements which were never available to the Plains Miwok (e.g., bedrock mortars) because they do reflect different activities which would have affected social interaction.

In dealing with the archaeological record it has been convenient to group sites which were occupied by culturally related people into districts which have been named after some feature of the local geography. There are five



districts of pertinence herein. Those sites shown on Map 2 which are located on the Cosumnes, Mokelumne, and lower Sacramento River (between Freeport and Isleton) have revealed components of a similar culture and have been designated the Cosumnes district; variant cultural patterns are evident in the sites clustered on the various branches of the lower San Joaquin River and have been called the Stockton district; the few sites known in the Antioch-Walnut Creek region have been used to define the Diablo district; the Solano district includes those sites north of Suisun Bay and west of the Yolo basin which are shown on Map 2; the Sutter district includes American River sites, sites on the Sacramento River north of Sac-29, and extends northward to the mouth of the Feather River. Though the available excavated sample from many of these sites is small, it is felt that there is sufficient homogeneity expressed in common traits to warrant the assumption that evidence of rare traits from one site will be typical of the district.

Some of the more basic differences between these districts will be summarized; minor typological variations are even more apparent but space cannot be devoted to them here. It should be emphasized that this central portion of the Great Valley represented a single diffusion sphere in aboriginal times. Once the readjustment which marks the beginning of the Late Horizon occurred, each district maintained its cultural distinctness through the succeeding subphases of Phase 1 and Phase 2. These subphases are defined in terms of different types of shell beads which were traded throughout the region on contemporaneous time levels; projectile points, shell ornaments and other items were also traded about on a reduced scale but in sufficient numbers to produce changes in all five districts which appear to have been "contemporaneous" in terms of the crude 200 year subphase divisions possible at present. That most of the sites dealt with were also occupied in Late Phase 1, and, with the exception of the poorly known Solano district, that each of the four remaining districts reveal distinctive harpoon forms in Late Phase 1, indicate that stable boundaries had existed in this region for at least 500 years prior to historic contact. Only the protohistoric (Phase 2) and historic periods are of direct pertinence herein; the following summary will be confined therefore to this 350 year span of terminal occupation by the aboriginal inhabitants of the Great Valley.

Only the Cosumnes and Stockton districts shared the baked clay industry in developed form. An incredible variety of clay shapes were made as substitutes for cooking stones in both districts; none of these clay shapes appear where stone was available. Net sinkers of several forms were also made of baked clay in the Cosumnes, Stockton, and Sutter districts, but stone was used elsewhere. The manufacture of baked clay effigies was centered on the Cosumnes River; rare specimens found to the north and south probably represent trade items from this central location.

The wood mortar was characteristic only of the Cosumnes and Sutter districts, with occasional use in the Stockton and Diablo districts. Bedrock mortars were occasionally used in the Solano and Diablo districts, but most mortars were made of selected small boulders in the Solano and Stockton districts. "Show" mortars (often killed) were typical of only the Diablo district.

Heavy, simple, double-ended pestles (usually of granite) were imported



from the Sierra by the inhabitants of the Cosumnes and Sutter districts. They were apparently too valuable to be owned individually since they seldom were placed in graves. Simple basalt cobbles were used in the Solano district, and were rarely buried with the dead. Light, single-ended pestles of basalt and sandstone were preferred in the Diablo district. The handle end was often carved into varied flanges, knobs, and other decorative elaborations. Wealthier women evidently possessed several which were buried with them. The preferred pestle in the Stockton district was a light, double-ended cylinder of graywacke imported from the west, though some individuals were able to import carved specimens. Private ownership is indicated by the frequency with which pestles were interred with the dead.

Though tule mats and grass thatch appear to have been used as the common house covering in all five districts, the scapula grass-cutter was used only in the Solano and Diablo districts; even there the occurrence of these is so rare that the occasional specimens found were probably brought from the coast by inmarrying wives. Basketry awls made from split deer metapodials were common in all but the Diablo district. The finely coiled mortuary baskets often found in the Sutter, Cosumnes and Solano districts were seldom interred with the dead by inhabitants of the Diablo district. The Stockton district is set apart from all other by the use of large awls made from elk ulnae, and the manufacture of basketry with a grass-bundle foundation (willow was the only foundation material used in the other four districts).

The mortuary complex (flexed burial with westerly to southeasterly orientation, and primary cremation with incomplete grave-pit burning for the wealthy) was common to the Cosumnes, Solano and Diablo districts. In the Sutter district the semiflexed position was more popular, and complete secondary cremation was more frequent than primary cremation. In the Stockton district many families refused to abandon the ancient practice of placing the body in a dorsally extended position, though grave-pit burning was accepted.

Four different styles of incised patterns appear on bird bone ear tubes. The Cosumnes and Diablo districts shared an emphasis on cross-hatched bands and complex chevron and diamond designs (arranged in small panels in the Diablo district); simple crisscrossed lines were typical of the Stockton district; frames, borders, and designs made with more than four lines distinguish the Sutter district; only small fragments have been found in the Solano sites. A combination hair ornament and dagger of elk cannon bone was a distinctive male possession in the Stockton district. Elongate bone head-scratchers and split rib sweat scrapers were typical only of the Cosumnes district.

The Stockton district differed from all others in several religious and ceremonial activities. Though steatite was traded throughout the region to be made into distinctive pipe forms in each district, vessels and cups of this material were restricted to the Stockton district. These latter must represent paraphernalia of the toloache cult, characteristic of the San Joaquin Valley in historic times. Carefully serrated bear claws made of obsidian and worn by dancers in the bear dance were typical only of this region, though occasional individuals from the Cosumnes district obtained one or two for use in their home villages (the specialized chipping technique involved in their manufacture, once characteristic of the whole region, was



evidently preserved only by craftsmen in the Stockton district by historic times). Individuals, presumably dancers, in this southern district also preserved the ancient whistle form made from the long-bones of wading birds with end stops although their neighbors had adopted short whistles (usually of duck bone) with central stops.

A new wave of ideas spread over the entire region during the early protohistoric period; by the end of this subphase it was no longer fashionable to wear the effigy ornaments so popular during previous centuries. By one interpretation, the god Kuksu could no longer be represented in shell, and his form became distorted as the being himself was rejected. Or perhaps the disappearance of the effigies from the graves signified the emergence of a men's secret society which prohibited public display of the god-figure. Except for the acceptance of the toloache cult in the Stockton district, the only other replacement as yet evident in the material remains is the elaboration of baked clay bird effigies in the Cosumnes district. Often made for loose attachment, they could have functioned in special headdresses of bird impersonators in the Kuksu cycle, or perhaps were featured in some increase rite. Their public nature is indicated by the lack of special treatment accorded them; when the effigies had served their purpose, they were merely discarded on the village refuse heap. Rare specimens were traded into adjacent districts.

One may infer that the power of shamans was strongest in the Sutter, Cosumnes, and Stockton districts, where only those with special powers could touch the dangerous charmstones. For centuries these stones had never been left lying about the village, but were buried along with other special gear with their owners. Types used in earlier periods are most common so the charmstones must represent heirlooms or were obtained by secretly looting ancient graves; rarer (presumably less effective) charmstones could be obtained by trade with other shamans living to the west. In the Solano and Diablo districts, an ancient tradition of personal use of charmstones by hunters and fishermen was gradually giving way to the feeling that only the shaman could control them. The coastal pattern of contemporaneous manufacture of charmstones (each district had its own special forms), which involved the lack of any belief in their ability to harm humans (village midden is littered with fragments), had been adopted by the Solano and Diablo Phase 1 inhabitants. But the interior patterns of association were beginning to be felt in these villages by the beginning of Phase 2; the charms were no longer manufactured, they were not left about, and they were buried only with shamans.

The three districts with stone available (Sutter, Solano, and Diablo) were clearly manufacturing centers, but each had local tool complexes. Most notable were abundant sandstone smoothing stones in the Sutter district, pitted hammerstones in the Solano district, and elongate pebble tools in the Diablo district. The Diablo district appears to have been a major distributing center for obsidian traded in from Napa Valley.

It is thus apparent that even the limited range of behavior which can be inferred from material remains was different in each district. A large number of the sites in the Cosumnes district can be identified with historic village names of the Plains Miwok, and the successive components which can be



identified at most of the sites leave no doubt as to continued occupation by the same tribelet for centuries. This inference can be documented with varied typological minutiae which distinguish components within the same district, such as a peculiar but consistent number of lines used in designs incised on bone tubes, the addition of tabs to certain ornaments, or the manufacture of only certain forms of baked clay cooking stones or other baked clay objects.

As can be seen from Map 2, the number of excavated border villages of adjacent neighbors of the Plains Miwok is limited, and few have yielded historic components. However, the available data are suggestive. The baked clay industry ends abruptly on the Sacramento River at Sac-85, a probable suburb of the tribelet center of the Hulpumne Miwok; only baked clay sinkers are found at Sac-29, the tribelet center of the Sama Nisenan.

The nearest excavated sites in Southern Patwin territory cannot be assigned any name, but Sol-3 is a historic site and the three sites at this west edge of the Delta provide clues to support the conclusion that a single tribelet occupied the district since Phase 1 times. The culture displayed is diagnostic of the Solano district, revealing many differences from the Sacramento River sites.

No historic sites have yet been excavated on the border of the Diablo district, but the protohistoric remains known do reveal a continuous occupation from Phase 1 times; CCo-138, type site for the Diablo district, has many local patterns which are not related to either the Cosumnes or the Stockton districts; the protohistoric components at Sac-45 and Sac-203, just north in the Cosumnes district, though only tested, have yielded ornament types never found in the Diablo district.

The most distinct district is that called Stockton, for which five historic components are known, and these can be associated with Yokuts groups. SJo-80 can be identified with the tribelet center of the Yatchicumne, while SJo-82 must represent a subsidiary village of this group. SJo-86 is probably the primary village of the Nochochomne. SJo-105 can be considered a subsidiary village of the Chilamne. CCo-141 is probably a subsidiary village of the Jalalon; it definitely belongs with the Stockton district rather than with CCo-138.<sup>31</sup> Though no historic artifacts were found at SJo-83 in the limited excavation made, the location is close to the tribelet center of the Coybos Yokuts. These sites formed a cultural unit quite distinct from that represented in the Mokelumne and Cosumnes River sites ever since Phase 1.

The material culture, and inferences derived therefrom, are thus in agreement with village names and personal names, and suggest that the broad jump from culture to language can be made in this region. It is therefore proposed that the following correlations can be made between the inhabitants of the site components grouped together into districts on the basis of uniform patterns of behavior, and the natal language which they spoke.

Cosumnes district:	Plains Miwok language
Sutter district:	Valley Nisenan language
Solano district:	Southern Patwin language
Diablo district:	Bay Miwok language
Stockton district:	Northern Yokuts language



## TRIBELETS AND VILLAGES

Introduction

It is uncertain whether the Plains Miwok language had become differentiated into dialects by the mid-19th century. Only a handful of informants could be found by the time intensive ethnographic studies were begun after 1900, and the language is represented in print by a scant 183 words, many of which appear only in one of the four available vocabularies. The longest vocabulary (136 words) was collected in 1906 by Barrett (1908:362-367) from a single "Mokelumne" informant. In 1904, Kroeber (1906a:660-661) collected 32 words from several "Mokelumni" informants; this list was presumably the "Otcehamni" (Ochejamne) vocabulary referred to by Barrett (1908:356). Kroeber (1911) identified no sources for his brief analysis of Plains Miwok grammar. The earliest vocabulary (69 words) was collected by Dana in 1841 from "Talatui" on the Cosumnes River (Hale 1846:631; reprinted with errors in Powers 1877:552-553); this unique name has been assigned to the Sotolomne tribelet (No. 14) herein. In 1850, Prince Paul of Wurtemberg collected 34 native words from "Kosume" (Cosomne) informants (Clark 1959). The number of differences which appear in the word lists, though clouded by the variant orthographies, suggest that at least subdialects and perhaps even dialects may have been spoken on the Cosumnes and Mokelumne Rivers. This possibility seems to have been reported by a Valley Nisenan (see Tom Cleanso discussion below). Merriam is known to have collected vocabularies from the "Mokalumne," "Mokozumne," and "Wipa" (see tribelet 8) but these have not been published. The Guaypemne ("Wipa") and Anizumne ("Hannesu," no. 12) "could in the main understand each other" (Merriam 1967:368), while the language of the Hulpumne and "Mokozumne" (Cosomne) was reported to be nearly the same by Jesus Oliver (Merriam ms. 3).

The aboriginal inhabitants had no native term for the linguistic and cultural unit now designated as Plains Miwok. Miwok was merely the word for "person" in Northern Miwok as rendered by Powers (1877:347), and since extended as a convenient name for the whole linguistic family. Merriam (1907:348; 1966:324) always preferred to use the more pertinent term "Mewko" instead of Plains Miwok (cf. Barrett 1908:362, no. 1; Kroeber 1929:254, note 10). No such thing as "Plains Miwok society" was recognized by its members, for the largest sociopolitical unit was the individual tribelet. The native speakers were content to refer to these tribelets by name, or used directional terms, such as "northerners," for more general reference. Plains Miwok designations for neighboring groups speaking different languages have not been recorded, but were probably directional (cf. Barrett 1908:368, note 36). Merriam (ms. 3) obtained the term a-cham'-mutch, "south people," from Jesus Oliver, a Chilumne Yokuts living in the foothills who spoke Muqueleme, but the root of this term is Sierra Miwok (Barrett 1908:366, no. 120).

The Foothill Nisenan on the upper Cosumnes River called the Plains Miwok Tinan, "west people" (Merriam 1907:348; 1967:369). The Valley Nisenan informant, Tom Cleanso ("Blind Tom"), used by both Merriam and Kroeber, gave contradictory information. According to Merriam (1907, 1967), the "Pawenan"



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(Valley Nisenan) called the "Mokozumne" tribe Kaw'-so (meaning unknown). According to Kroeber (1929:259), this same informant once understood some Plains Miwok and said: "Beyond the Mokosumni, 'on the San Joaquin' (sic) were the Ko'ni, the northern hill Miwok, whose language was harder to understand than Mokosumni. Two of their settlements were Ce'w'a and Ca'kayak." Kroeber concluded that the "Mokosumni" were Plains Miwok and the "Koni" were Northern Miwok (who did use this Nisenan term meaning "south people" as a group name for themselves). Actually, the expressed relationships are more suitable if one assumes that Tom Cleanso meant that the language spoken on the Mokelumne River was harder to understand than that spoken on the Cosumnes (Mokosumni) River, and thus that two dialects were included within Plains Miwok. At least the two "Koni" settlements referred to by Cleanso were Plains Miwok tribelet centers on the Mokelumne River, given without the -mne termination: "Cewa" is a variant of the Seuamne used herein (tribelet 22) and "Cakayak" is Sakayakumne (no. 27). Northern Miwok would have been incomprehensible to a Nisenan speaker of Plains Miwok because a full 40 per cent of Plains Miwok roots have no cognates in Northern Miwok (Barrett 1908:357).

While the many deficiencies in the supporting data must be fully recognized, it can be suggested that the speakers of Plains Miwok were divided into about 28 tribelets, the villages of which were distributed along the banks and tributaries of the Sacramento, Cosumnes, and Mokelumne Rivers. Perhaps a dozen or so names of subsidiary villages have been preserved, but most of them are problematical.

In the presentation of the tribelet list it is convenient to divide Plains Miwok territory into three sections and deal with the Sacramento, Cosumnes, and Mokelumne Rivers as separate units. A concentration of tribelets occupied the maze of sloughs formed by the juncture of these three rivers, and historical data are such that it will be useful to refer to this subsection, south of Chupumne and west of the juncture of the Cosumnes and Mokelumne Rivers, as the north Delta. Though the lower Mokelumne River is thereby included, this subsection is dominated by, and physiographically belongs with, the lower Sacramento River. For this reason the north Delta will be discussed in the section dealing with the Sacramento River, and general references to the Mokelumne River should be understood to mean the drainage above the mouth of the Cosumnes only.

It must be emphasized that this grouping is artificial and had only slight social significance aboriginally. It was difficult to pole tule balsas against the current, so river travel was of slight importance. The extensive inter-tribelet contact which took place was maintained by foot travel. Invitations to attend tribelet ceremonies were sent far and wide, and the distance involved was of small consequence in the decision to accept. Historical accounts document the visits of Cosumnes River Indians to the Mokelumne River (Sullivan 1934:60). As already discussed under exploration diaries (Chapter 4), baptismal dates, marriage data, and military alliances suggest that a number of tribelets can be grouped together into larger units which displayed a loose but traditional tendency to cooperate with each other. The three largest tribelet centers appear to have been focal points in these groupings, but for reference purposes these units will be assigned geographic names: tribelets associated with the Ochejamne will be called the North Delta group, those linked with the Cosumne will be referred to as the Cosumnes group



(after the river), and those tribelets which cooperated with the Muqueleme will be designated as the Mokelumne group. As has been indicated, social interaction within the Cosumnes group extended in an east-west direction from the Ylamne west of the Sacramento River through the Gualacomne (east of the Sacramento River) to the Cosumne on the Cosumnes River, while marriage ties linked the Ylamne with the Olonapatme, the latter residing east of the Cosumnes River (probably on Laguna Creek). The Mokelumne group also represents an east-west band, and may have included tribelets living on the lower Cosumnes River, at least in the post-Mission period. The North Delta group appears to have formed a tight cluster of four or five tribelets on either side of the Sacramento River where the latter begins to branch into multiple channels. A fourth group may have existed, though it is much less definite; it may have been centered among the Chucumne and will be referred to as the Sacramento group. While Yokuts and Patwin influence was doubtless strongest on the Mokelumne and Sacramento Rivers, respectively, the archaeological record (Chapter 4) indicates that the many social groups which constituted the Plains Miwok did form a relatively uniform cultural unit (the Cosumnes district), distinguishable from their linguistic neighbors.

All named settlements of the Plains Miwok which can be located are shown on Map 3. Probable tribelets (and therefore tribelet centers also) are shown in upper case and have been numbered in the text. When available data allow a relatively specific placement, the location of tribelet centers has been shown as a black circle on the map; if only an approximation is possible, a + has been used; if neither symbol appears, the tribelet has been located from information supplied by baptismal dates, historical linkages or other vague associations. Possible subsidiary settlements have been underlined and are shown in lower case on Map 3; they are discussed under their pertinent tribelets or referred to as problems at the end of the introduction to each of the geographic sections. Names which may represent intrusive (?) Nisenan settlements are shown in parentheses on the upper Cosumnes River. The sequence of presentation will begin at the north end of the Sacramento River and proceed south through the Delta. It will then shift to the mouth of the Cosumnes River, continuing up that river to the end of Plains Miwok territory. The tribelets of the Mokelumne River will be given last, starting at the mouth of the Cosumnes River and proceeding eastward up the Mokelumne.

The first tribelet, called Hulpumne herein, is the subject of much controversy and must be dealt with extensively. No others require such exhaustive treatment. Consequently, an abbreviated format will be used to present the specific data relevant to each individual tribelet, beginning with the second group, the Gualacomne. This format will include the following data when pertinent. Location will provide the source or reasons which were used to place the tribelet and tribelet center on Map 3. The names of all towns and rivers given in reference to location of a tribelet center are modern place names and did not exist when the events discussed herein took place. Contemporary names are used when pertinent (e.g., New Helvetia instead of the modern Sacramento). When known, probable identification with an archaeological site will be given; such sites are referred to by the designations assigned by the University of California Archaeological Survey (see endnote 25).

Marriage will refer to the incomplete notation of marriage between



different tribelets made by Pinart in his copy of the Mission San Jose baptismal register; as already discussed, the specific frequency cannot be emphasized but the clusterings of villages linked by marriage do form consistent patterns and represent part of the evidence for the cooperative groups referred to above.

Missionization will include the data abstracted from the Mission San Jose baptismal register. Although the Mexican act of secularization, by which all mission activities were terminated, was pronounced officially in 1834, it did not become effective in relation to the Indians at Mission San Jose until 1836. If the dates of baptism for a tribelet end before 1834, missionization will be given as completed, for there is convincing evidence from the immediate mission orbit that such villages were usually exhausted of their populations (the Sotolomne were the only probable exception). If the baptismal dates continued to 1834-1836, missionization will be given as in process. The range of baptismal dates for the tribelet will then follow: the first date signifies the year in which the first baptism from the tribelet was recorded, the second date refers to the year of final baptism. Then the total number of baptisms recorded for the tribelet will be given, followed by the year of peak frequency, i.e., the single year in which the greatest number of baptisms occurred. Variant names for each tribelet which appear in the baptismal register of Mission San Jose (and also Mission Santa Clara) have been published alphabetically and will not be repeated here (Merriam 1955:217-219, 220-225). However, if a variant is problematical or has significance in establishing synonymy with post-mission names, the pertinent variants will be noted under this heading.

References will include a synopsis of all contemporary or otherwise significant sources which mention the tribelet. This synopsis will serve both as a historical outline of contact with the tribelet, and as an identification of primary source material. Original ethnographic data will be included, but such compilations as Bancroft's Native Races or History of California, or Hodge's Handbook of American Indians, will not be cited; though useful as guides to research, such sources are often unreliable for details.

Confusion will cover briefly the previously published assumptions as to identification or synonymy of the tribelet name. Most of these involve the works of Schenck (1926) or Cook (1955a), both of which are so systematically organized that page citation is unnecessary. Many of the confusions surrounding possible synonymy are presented by Cook, so extended discussion is seldom needed; with more data available, I have often chosen an alternative interpretation, but all major differences are presented in Chapter 4 or elaborated under this heading.

Comment will deal with a brief evaluation of the importance of the tribelet, or with interpretive problems posed by oddities in the data.

#### The Sacramento River Tribelets

Associated with the Sacramento River and north Delta are 12 tribelet names, two of which (Hulpumne, Siusumne) are subject to controversy. All 12 names seem to represent tribelet centers. Although there must have been many more subsidiary villages, the names of only two of these have been preserved. Diaries of the Duran-Arguello expedition (hereafter referred to as Duran) of



1817, and the Plano de la Misión de San José (hereafter cited as the 1824 Map) support the concentration of tribelets which appears in the north Delta. Though the number of major settlements is unusual in this region, a large population could certainly have been sustained by the rich supply of fish, birds, and vegetal products provided by this network of sloughs and channels. Data on settlements on the upper portion of the river are less satisfactory, but territorial units appear to have been larger; except for small ponds and marshy sloughs adjacent to the river, most of this northern territory consisted of drier plains.

Available references suggest that the tribelets along the Sacramento River were divided into at least two, and perhaps three, cooperating groups. The most definite of these has been designated the North Delta group and appears to have been centered among the Ochejamne, largest of the tribelets on the Sacramento River. Linked with them by resistance to baptism, by marriage, or by alliances were the Chupumne, Siusumne, Junizumne, and perhaps the Guaypemne. The second group was not centered in this section, but among the Cosumne, largest of the tribelets on the Cosumnes River; however, the Cosumnes group did have two representatives on the Sacramento River, the Ylamne and Gualacomne. A third group on the lower Sacramento River can be suggested from evidence provided by marriage ties, early acceptance of baptism (in marked contrast to the North Delta group), and variant personal names; unfortunately, the members of the four tribelets involved were taken to Mission San Jose so early that there are few historical references to them. This Sacramento group may have been centered among the Chucumne (largest tribelet), and perhaps included the Anizumne, Musupumne, and possibly the Quenemsia.

If the limited marriage data are representative, these cooperating units may have been aboriginal. It was customary among Central California Indians to grant neighboring tribelets access to special resources, either by invitation or by affirmation of a request to cross territorial boundaries. It may be seen from Map 3 that the east-west alignment of the cooperative groups provided each tribelet with access to marshland and plains. The Quenemsia and Guaypemne, living on marshy islands, must have received permission from friendly neighbors to collect seeds and hunt on drier land, and could have reciprocated by inviting mainland groups to fish or hunt waterfowl. It seems quite reasonable to assume that the Cosumnes River tribelets would have desired access to the much greater resources of the Sacramento River and the marshland adjacent to the west; such access could have been granted by the Ylamne and Gualacomne. The strong marriage ties which linked the Ylamne of the Sacramento River and the distant Olonapatme of Laguna Creek would become meaningful by the following interpretation. The powerful Cosumne doubtless controlled most of the plains between the Sacramento and Cosumnes Rivers, while the Patwin held the plains west of the Yolo Basin. The Ylamne were thus confined by their larger neighbors to little more than a lake and adjacent marshland. By establishing cross-cousin marriage ties with the Olonapatme, the Ylamne could gain entrance to the dry plains held by the former, and the Olonapatme, in return, could visit the Sacramento for the salmon runs or to hunt waterfowl on the lake and marshes of Ylamne territory. Intercommunication between these two tribelets was dependent on friendly relations with the intermediate Cosumne. It is even possible that the difficulties of maintaining boundaries in the flat plains and marshes led to poaching by



members of the North Delta tribelets (the population was extremely dense for the small amount of dry land available to the four major tribelets) and contributed to the formation of the cooperative groupings which appear in the historic record. Whatever their origin, it is clear that these cooperative units were strengthened by reaction to Spanish intrusion in 1813, and three loose confederacies of tribelets (North Delta, Cosumnes, Mokelumne groups) were maintained until after the arrival of Sutter in 1839. Attempted uprisings in 1840 and 1841 were put down by Sutter, and only the Mokelumne group maintained the earlier organization until their final defeat by Sutter in 1846.

The intensive proselytizing activities of Mission San Jose began in 1811 in the Great Valley, reaching as far as the Quenemsia in the north Delta. The Anizumne yielded immediately (199 members of the tribelet submitted to baptism in 1812), followed by the Chucumne in 1823-1824 (322 baptisms in two years), and the Quenemsia in 1825 (92 baptisms in one year). By 1828 the entire Delta Tidal Plain south of the Junizumne had been exhausted of inhabitants, including five Plains Miwok tribelets. The populations of Anizumne, Chucumne, Quenemsia, Guaypemne, and Musupumne were all taken to the mission and never reappeared in the historical record. The more northern villages along the Sacramento River (Junizumne to Gualacomne) continued to supply converts until effective secularization in 1836, but the North Delta group resisted baptism and sheltered fugitives until after the 1833 plague. The non-baptized population which remained in the valley was decimated by this epidemic, and many villages were deserted; in 1837 the large number of still abandoned village sites along the Sacramento River evoked comment (Belcher 1843:125). Several of the tribelets (Junizumne, Ylamne, and Hulpumne) must have been absorbed into larger neighboring groups for they were never referred to again in contemporaneous documents, while the Siusumne and Chupumne were so weakened that their names did not persist beyond 1841.

Most neophytes baptized after 1828 probably returned to their native lands following secularization in 1836. The Ochejamne and Siusumne were still sufficiently organized to make treaties with Vallejo in 1837, and were willing to antagonize the horse-stealing Mokelumne River group and provoke combat in 1838. When Sutter became the first European settler in the Sacramento Valley, with his establishment of New Helvetia (modern Sacramento) in 1839, the Sacramento River Indians shifted their allegiance to him. Raids on the ranchos of Napa and Sonoma Valleys prompted a general campaign by the Vallejos against the lower Sacramento River tribelets in 1840, and it became expedient for the latter to move to New Helvetia and become laborers for Sutter. Extinction followed rapidly, and by 1850 only the Gualacomne were remembered as a name to be associated with the Cosomne. Sutter maintained a fishing station at the village site of Gualacomne until after the 1841 uprising; by 1843 this station had been shifted to the site of Sama, in former Nisenan territory, and the last of the many Plains Miwok villages along the Sacramento River was abandoned.

Sama (identifiable as Sac-29) was established by Kroeber (1929:257) and Merriam (1966:45, 62) as the southernmost Nisenan village, and Dana obtained a Nisenan vocabulary from this group in 1841 (Hale 1846:631). The gap of nameless territory between Sama and Hulpumne probably reflects both lack of data and an unoccupied boundary zone between antagonistic Nisenan and Miwok.



The location of two Plains Miwok villages and one "tribe" associated with this section cannot be determined with any precision.

Nasune. A single female from Nasune was baptized in 1834. There is no other reference to the village, but the personal name is clearly Miwok, and the woman was married to a Siusumne male. Nasune thus must represent a minor village near the edge of the mission orbit; proximity to Siusumne has been assumed, and a location on the west bank of the Sacramento River in the otherwise vacant region north of Ylamne is suggested. The protohistoric site of Yol-49 might represent the village; to judge from collections obtained without control, this site was probably occupied until the 1833 plague, though no non-aboriginal artifacts have been reported. Absence of the locative suffix suggests that a subsidiary village is represented, possibly belonging to the Hulpumne tribelet.

Tanama. Merriam (1907:348) placed this village "on the plain" between the Sacramento and Cosumnes Rivers. Since the name does not appear in any historical document it must represent a subsidiary village of one of the named tribelets. The settlement was probably located on one of the lakes or sloughs adjacent to the lower Sacramento River and just north of the final large bend of the Mokelumne River, for the more northerly plains are quite dry. Since Merriam obtained recollections of the Ochejamne and Guaypeme, yet included Tanama with the "Mokozumne tribe" (a grouping of uncertain significance), the village may have belonged to a tribelet of the Cosumnes group. A subsidiary village of the Junizumne might also be represented, but the available associations are too vague to allow any meaningful placement of Tanama.

Wel-wel-he'. (or Wel-wel-le-he'). One informant claimed to be a survivor of this "tribe" (Merriam 1967:369). Living at Pleasanton with other mission survivors in 1910 and married to a Southern Patwin (Mike McGill), this otherwise nameless woman said that she and her mother were captured by the Spanish and taken to San Jose to work as servants. Nothing remotely similar to this name has been noted (Guel-guel-je does not appear in the mission registers), and the informant evidently could provide no other information. Wel-wel means "good" in Plains Miwok (Kroeber 1911:313) but the terminal accent is unique. A subsidiary village of some unknown tribelet is assumed and missionization would favor placement somewhere in the north Delta.

The 12 Plains Miwok tribelets (Hulpumne through Anizumne) to be discussed in the Sacramento River section are as follows.

#### 1. HULPUMNE

This is the most problematical of the Sacramento River groups, for there are at least four claimants to the northernmost district of Miwok territory in this section: the Hulpumne, Gualacomne, Julpun, and Noypumne. For reasons which will become clear, the claim of the Hulpumne seems strongest, but the case for each claimant will be stated briefly. The four possibilities are as follows:

a. The Hulpumne tribelet was located between the Sama Nisenan and the Gualacomne Miwok. Merriam (1907:348) listed the "Hulpoomne" as the northernmost Miwok "tribe", with a principal village at or near the modern town of Freeport. He provided no discussion of his informants, but his map



indicated that he was aware of the existence of both the Sama Nisenan to the north and the Gualacomne Miwok to the south, though neither of these latter two tribelets are named. We know from other sources that at least three informants reported the existence of the Hulpumne to Merriam. The most specific was Tom Cleanso, the Valley Nisenan who provided the tribelet name ("Hool-poom'-ne") and information on the boundary with Sama (Merriam 1966:45, 62). However, Cleanso later told Kroeber that Walak was the first Miwok village south of Sama (see b below). Jesus Oliver, a Chilamne Yokuts, included the "Hulpoomne" as one of four Miwok "tribes" and located them on the east side of the lower Sacramento River; the language was nearly the same as "Mokozzumne" (Merriam, ms. 3). Paula, the "Wipa" (Guaypemne) survivor, also placed the "Hool-poom'-ne (or Hool-poom'-man-ne)" east of the Sacramento to the northeast of Guaypemne, and said they spoke another language (presumably Nisenan) as well as Plains Miwok (Merriam 1967:367). None of these informants imply any confusion with the Julpun Bay Miwok, who lived south of the Sacramento River and the Guaypemne.

Kroeber (1925) also placed the Hulpumne at Freeport, but his source was probably Merriam, because he later eliminated the group (see b and c below). Duran (Cook 1960:275, 278, May 20) indicated that a village (unnamed) existed just off the river in this district in 1817. The archaeological sites of Sac-85 and Sac-86, close together just southeast of Freeport, have yielded glass beads of the late Mission period, and Sac-86 is large enough to qualify as the Hulpumne tribelet center. The territory involved is so large that a distinct tribelet is called for.

The major argument against the existence of Hulpumne is the total lack of historical references (unless it is a variant of Julpun; see c below). Absence of Hulpumne in the mission registers could reflect the peripheral location of the group. As already discussed, the North Delta group of tribelets resisted missionization, and most of the Gualacomne, just to the south, were not baptized until 1834. To the north, Sama does not appear in the baptismal lists, and the single possible Pusune neophyte (American River, baptized in 1822 from "Pujetsemne") must have been a wife or visitor taken to the mission from a more southerly village, in view of the early date. More difficult to explain is the lack of any reference to the Hulpumne in the Sutter period, but the tribelet could have been so weakened by the 1833 plague that it did not survive as an organized group. Examples of peoples suffering a similar fate would be the Ylamne and Noypumne, both of which had been only slightly missionized yet are not referred to in the Sutter period.

b. The Gualacomne held all the territory between Sama and the Chupumne. After interviewing the forgetful Tom Cleanso (see a above), Kroeber (1929:257) placed "Walak" near Freeport and made no reference to the Hulpumne whom he had placed at Freeport in 1925. However, his location as expressed in mileage would locate Walak more to the south, at the historic site of Sac-56 rather than at Sac-86. As discussed below, there can be little question that the tribelet center (Walak) of the Gualacomne was at Sac-56.

Gualacomne occupation of this northern edge of Miwok territory could also be supported by the Vioget map of 1843, defining Sutter's original land grant. Sama is not shown on this map, but "Walagamnes" is placed where Sama ought to appear. This may be one of the careless placements made by Vioget, others of



which can be demonstrated from otherwise uncontroversial Nisenan village locations. For some reason only selected villages appear on this map; many others are referred to in contemporary accounts and can be located from ethnographic data. However, it is much more likely that the mapped location of "Walagamnes" reflects resettlement of the Gualacomne at Sama, closer to New Helvetia. Sama appears to have been a small village, for it disappeared from the historic accounts after 1841. In 1840 Phelps visited two villages on the right bank of the Sacramento River. These must have been Sama and Gualacomne for he listed the remaining missionized tribelets as living near New Helvetia by this time. Phelps' statement is supported by the 1843 map (Vioget ms.) which shows "Ras. de Gentiles" (note plural villages) a short distance southwest of the actual fort. In another connection, Phelps located an Indian fishing village as 10 miles south of New Helvetia; the distance indicated that Gualacomne was intended rather than Sama, and Sutter (1939) often referred to the fishing station maintained at an "old Indian camp" on the Sacramento. Since the Gualacomne participated in the 1841 uprising, it is probable that Sutter shifted the fishing camp to Sama before 1843 in order to maintain better control. As already discussed in Chapter 4, the non-aboriginal artifacts from Sac-56 (Gualacomne) represent the early Sutter period, while those from Sac-29 (Sama) reflect the late Sutter period. At any rate, the Vioget map is both too inaccurate and too late to prove that the Gualacomne were aboriginally adjacent to the Sama Nisenan.

Finally, though this locality was not as lush as the north Delta, it still contained the fish resources of the Sacramento River, a rich wildfowl potential on the adjacent lakes and sloughs, extensive oak groves, and more seed collecting and hunting land than was available to North Delta tribelets. More than one tribelet could certainly have been supported, and if the Gualacomne are granted the entire section between Sama and the Chupumne, the resultant tribelet territory would be abnormally large.

c. The Julpun Bay Miwok resettled in this locality. Kroeber (1908) early suggested that Merriam's Hulpumne were nothing more than a variant of the Julpun referred to (with no specified location) in the historical accounts (but see a above). Schenck, followed by Cook (1955a), interpreted the Hulpumne as a fugitive Julpun village which fled north from the mouth of the San Joaquin River to escape missionization. The only support for such a proposition is the identical root used to form the names. That such duplication did occasionally occur among unquestionably distinct groups has already been demonstrated.

The other pertinent data are all negative. In the first place, the baptismal dates for the Julpun end in 1827, by which time it is clear that their territory (the plains just southeast of the mouth of the San Joaquin River) was devoid of Indians. Even in 1824 the tribelet center of the Julpun was placed on one of the south Delta islands, though the aboriginal location must have been on the mainland (probably CCo-138). However, the major influx of the Gualacomne and Ylamne, southern neighbors of the Hulpumne, did not occur until 1834. If the Hulpumne and the Julpun were the same group, at least a scattering of Julpun baptisms, representing parents and other relatives of neophytes baptized earlier, should have continued until 1836, for death away from one's relatives was too fearful a fate to be sustained by hatred of the missions. All relations of the Julpun with the Spanish were



friendly, and they make an extremely poor group to be turned into fugitives by a name similarity. Some 148 Julpun were baptized, so unless the original population of the tribelet was exceptionally large, there would not have been enough members left to create a functioning, land-holding unit within foreign territory. The Julpun represent the largest tribelet of the Bay Miwok (only 103 Chupcan and 92 Ompin were baptized), and the group was exceeded in size only by the larger of the Plains Miwok and Yokuts tribelets. Since the average Delta tribelet furnished only 132 baptisms (based on 25 tribelets exhausted by 1828), and one-third to one-half of the population died from disease in the villages, one may question whether enough Julpun would have survived to form a corporate group. The consistent pattern of fugitivism was incorporation with a less-weakened, more distant tribelet and loss of one's own corporate identity. The few Julpun survivors of secularization who left the Indian settlements which continued near the missions returned to their native territory. Marsh (1890:213) used local Indian labor when he settled on Marsh Creek at the northeast edge of the South Coast Range in 1838, and he still called this ranch "Farm of the Pulpunes" (a variant of Julpun) in 1846.

Secondly, Julpun belonged to the village group using the -n suffix clustered at the mouth of the San Joaquin River, and personal names support inclusion of the Julpun with the Bay Miwok. One would not expect the group to adopt the -mne suffix of Plains Miwok and become the Hulpumne well within the lifetime of the original migrants. All three of Merriam's informants reported the language spoken as Plains Miwok and gave the standard -mne suffix (see a above).

Thirdly, since the controversial northernmost tribelet did not survive into the Sutter period, one may question whether a short-lived Julpun intrusion would be remembered as aboriginal some 60 to 70 years later. The Hulpumne did not survive either, but as aboriginal occupants their chances of being remembered were immeasurably better.

Lastly, if one rejects the Hulpumne, one has to account for the previous occupants of the locality prior to the late entrance of the Julpun. The territory seems too large to be merely divided between the Gualacomne and Sama. Were it not for the small size imposed on the intrusive group by the large number already baptized, one might build a case for diehard, socially isolated Julpun pushing Nisenan out of the region. As discussed under the northern boundary (Chapter 6), there is one unsubstantiated report that the Nisenan held no territory on the Sacramento below the mouth of the American River, and that enmity between the inhabitants of the two banks of the American was such that the Nisenan would not visit New Helvetia for a year (Lienhard 1898:125). The distinct boundaries drawn for the Hulpumne might indicate a linguistic difference, and hence support the Julpun claim. It is also true that there are a few recorded instances of tribelet or faction migration elsewhere in Central California (summarized in Kroeber 1932:270). However, the rarity of peaceful, permanent resettlement without absorption or warfare should be noted.

d. The Noypumne tribelet (no. 26) was located between Sama and the Gualacomne. The only reference to the Noypumne appears in the mission registers (six baptisms), but the baptismal dates (1827-1834) would indicate a location either to the north of the Gualacomne on the Sacramento River, or



east of the Muqueleme on the Mokelumne River. The group is last referred to in 1834, so wherever the Noypumne are placed, they did not long survive the 1833 plague.

One argument in favor of a Sacramento River location for the Noypumne is the fact that a large number (67) of Gualacomne were baptized, starting as early as 1821. Since missionization extended so far up the Cosumnes and Mokelumne Rivers (reaching the Amuchamne and Machemne, respectively), one would expect neophytes to have been drawn from villages farther up the Sacramento River than those of the Gualacomne. If the Noypumne were placed north of the Gualacomne, a more balanced pattern of mission activity would result, at least in terms of dates. In terms of numbers baptized, however, there is little imbalance. Most of the baptisms from Siusumne, Ylamne, and Gualacomne did not take place until 1834 and the wide band of mission-resisting tribelets of the North Delta group would have served as a protective barrier against the penetration of missionization to more northern groups. A similar situation is suggested for the Cosumnes River, where intensive missionization only reached to the Cosomne; no Newachumne, only one Shalachmushumne, and a handful of Amuchamne were baptized. Since the Mokelumne River has an equal claim to be the original location of the Noypumne, the only argument in favor of placing the Noypumne on the Sacramento River would be to fill the vacancy left by rejection of the Hulpumne as a group distinct from the Julpun.

In summary, the following points would seem to be established. A distinct Miwok tribelet did exist to the north of the Gualacomne, as indicated by the size of the territory involved, Duran's 1817 account, and Merriam's specific boundaries which are correct in relation to the nameless but recognized tribelets of Sama and Gualacomne. The Gualacomne claim can therefore be rejected as aboriginal.

The name Hulpumne and Plains Miwok affiliation of the tribelet were reported by three widely separated informants. While the data given by each of them do contain other errors or contradictions, it seems doubtful that all three would confuse Hulpumne with the Julpun Bay Miwok.

Fortunately, archaeological data are available from test excavations in Sac-56, Sac-85, and Sac-86. The identification of Sac-56 with Walak, tribelet center of the Gualacomne, would seem to be established by the coincidence in location, the agreement between the size and richness of the archaeological site and the importance of the tribelet in the historic record, and the following agreement between archaeological and documentary evidence as to time of abandonment. As discussed in Chapter 4, the types and frequency of glass beads found as burial associations indicate occupation of Sac-56 during the entire Mission period, followed by reduced habitation and final abandonment during the early Sutter period. Absence of all non-aboriginal artifacts except glass beads at Sac-56 is in agreement with the shift of Sutter's Vioget map), since the greater variety of historic trade goods found at Sac-29 (Sama) clearly identifies occupation during the late Sutter period.

The identification of Sac-86 as the tribelet center of the problematical group to the north of the Gualacomne cannot be considered as certain, for



there are several sites near Freeport which have never been tested by controlled excavations. However, the fact that Sac-86 was the favored site for pothunting in this locality is one indication that it is the richest site, hence probably the tribelet center. A similar relationship probably obtains between least compaction of midden, hence ease of uncontrolled digging, hence lateness. The moderate size of the site would be in agreement with the small population implied for the tribelet by its early extinction. The close proximity of a suburb (Sac-85) also suggests the status of tribelet center. Absence of glass beads of the Sutter period is in agreement with the historical inference that the tribelet center did not long survive the 1833 plague.

Sac-85 is so small and close to Sac-86 that it must be regarded as a suburb of Sac-86, not an independent or even subsidiary village. Though it probably had a local designation, the chances that its name would have been known outside the tribelet are slight, and one would not expect the name to have been preserved in the meager ethnohistorical data available on Sacramento River settlements. The glass beads for this site are also of late Mission date and pre-Sutter. In so far as the available sample is representative, Sac-85 was occupied first, followed by a shift to Sac-86 in the full protohistoric period, while interments were made in both sites during the late Mission period. The two sites, Sac-85 and Sac-86, can thus be regarded as a single tribelet center for the following discussion. If Sac-86 is not the tribelet center it is so close to the correct site that its material remains must have been the same.

Both tribelet centers, Sac-56 and Sac-86 + Sac-85, were first occupied about A.D. 1300 and were inhabited during the two successive subphases which developed into historic Plains Miwok culture. The artifactual remains from the two centers are identical, and include such complexes as the baked clay industry, a distinct basketry emphasis, rare and limited types of pestles, and distinctive shell ornaments which are diagnostic of the Cosumnes district (essentially coterminous with historic Plains Miwok territory). The absence of the above complexes or typological replacement are diagnostic of the Diablo district (probably coterminous with historic Bay Miwok territory).

Therefore, one may seriously question whether a Bay Miwok tribelet, i.e., Julpun, at Sac-86 in or after 1810 (intensive mission activity in the south Delta did not begin until 1811), could so peaceably amalgamate with the existent residents that their name, rather than that of the native inhabitants, would survive. It is hard to believe that these migrants could so quickly adopt all of Plains Miwok material culture, in the less than 30 years of their existence before extinction, that no sign of cultural interruption or enrichment is apparent. This would mean that everything they had left behind--their love of stone mortars, their light, carved pestles, their use of serrated scapulae for cutting grass and tule; that no shaman accompanied them with his special charmstones; that they immediately began to wield the simple and heavy pestles in wooden mortars, learned how to bake the clay lumps needed for boiling food and the clay sinkers needed for fishing and the hunting of birds, and immediately acquired a taste for fancy baskets in their graves even though they had been unwilling or unable to obtain them by trade in their homeland. The archaeological record thus indicates that the Julpun Bay Miwok could not have entered as an organized



group capable of asserting dominance and maintaining their own customs. Thus the Julpun claim must be rejected.

The two remaining claimants are Plains Miwok, and only the name is controversial. Placement of the Noypumne in this section can be justified only if one assumes that Merriam obtained the recollection of a distinct tribelet and its boundaries, but somehow confused the group with the Julpun. Since all references to the Julpun, as late as 1846, are associated with the region south of Rio Vista in the south Delta and adjacent western plains, it is difficult to accept such an extreme error. The Hulpumne claim has therefore been accepted--though with only slight preference over that of the Noypumne--and the group has been shown as the northernmost aboriginal Miwok tribelet on the Sacramento River (Map 3). Available evidence suggests that they became extinct shortly after the 1833 plague, and their former territory was incorporated into that of the Gualacomne. The Noypumne have therefore been assigned to the Mokelumne River; if theirs was the better claim to the Sacramento territory, their fate was the same as that here given for the Hulpumne.

As already discussed, the village of Nasune may have been a subsidiary settlement of this northernmost tribelet, and a possible identification with Yol-49 can be suggested. The material culture from Yol-49 is also representative of protohistoric Plains Miwok culture and reveals none of the distinctive manifestations of Bay Miwok customs.

## 2. GUALACOMNE

Location: Kroeber (1929) located the tribelet center (Walak) near Freeport, 12 miles below Sacramento on the east bank of the Sacramento River. The distance in miles would place the village four miles south of Freeport, which would coincide with Sac-56. As already discussed in Chapter 4 and under tribelet 1, excavations in Sac-56, a large and rich site indicative of a tribelet center, have yielded glass beads of the early Sutter period; available evidence thus supports identification of Sac-56 with Gualacomne. Glass beads of the early and late Mission period have also been found at this site, as well as evidence of continuous occupation since Late Phase 1.

Marriage: Closest ties with Ylamne; also Chupumne and Olonapatme.

Missionization: In process 1821-1836, with 67 baptisms, mostly in 1834. Merriam (1955) listed a group of variants under the name "Guelecme" as though a distinct tribelet were represented; absence of any such variant in other sources suggests that "Guelecme" is merely another variant of Gualacomne, recorded by a different scribe in 1834.

References: The village (unnamed) was seen by members of the Duran expedition in 1817 (Cook 1960:275, 278, May 20). In 1839, Sutter (1932:5) visited the village and picked up guides on his first trip up the Sacramento. The location was reported variously as 10 or 12 miles below New Helvetia, and no name was given, but later references to Anashe, chief of the Walagomne, in the New Helvetia Diary indicate that the Gualacomne tribelet was the first group visited by Sutter (Gudde 1936:42; Zollinger 1939:65; Sutter 1939). A fishing village was still maintained in 1840, but some survivors were living near New Helvetia (Phelps). Listed as Miwok by Hale in 1841. Placement of



"Walagamnes" on the Vioget map of 1843 suggests a shift of the fishing station originally at Gualacomne to the former site of Sama, as discussed under tribelet 1. The tribelet headman, Anashe, was repeatedly referred to by Sutter (1939). Name included in lists of Taylor (1860:122) and Prince Paul (Clark 1959:296), so individuals may have survived beyond 1850.

Confusion: The Gualacomne have been confused with the Cosomne, Walakumne Yokuts, and Yalesumne Nisenan in earlier reports. Two sources imply that Gualacomne was another name for, or was included within, the Cosomne. By 1850 there were so few survivors that Prince Paul listed the group as "Kosumes or Wallagomne". The same confusion is evident on Merriam's 1907 map of Plains Miwok "tribes", where the "Mokosumni" boundary was oddly extended westward to the Sacramento River so as to include Gualacomne (unnamed) territory. Since Merriam provided no explanation of the significance of his "tribes", it is not clear whether he obtained a confused recollection, whether his informant was aware that the Gualacomne did cooperate with the Cosomne, or whether both groups spoke an identical dialect. There can be no question but that two independent tribelets were represented aboriginally and in the Mission period.

Cook (1955a:65) confused this Plains Miwok group with the Walakumne Yokuts, but the historical data clearly indicate that two distinct groups were represented. Merriam (ms. 1) placed the Walakumne Yokuts between the Stanislaus and Tuolumne Rivers, a location which agreed with the appearance of the group (rendered as Gualanseme) only in the Mission Santa Clara baptismal register (Merriam 1955:218).

Cook also assumed that the Yalesumne of Gatten's census (1846) were identical to the Gualacomne. However, the Yalesumne are a firmly established Foothill Nisenan tribelet near Salmon Falls (Dixon 1905: Pl. 38) which had no relationship to the Gualacomne.

Comment: The Gualacomne appear to have been one of the major tribelets of the Plains Miwok, and a large population was indicated by the frequent historical reference to the group. The close marriage ties with the Ylamne, early acceptance of baptism, and the suggested synonymy with the Cosomne all support inclusion of the Gualacomne with the Cosumnes group of cooperating tribelets. After the 1833 plague this tribelet appears to have incorporated the survivors and territory of the Hulpumne to the north (see tribelet 1). The Gualacomne were the first Indians with whom Sutter made contact, and they remained a favored group at New Helvetia. A fishing station was maintained at the village site, and the name appears to have been retained when the station was shifted to the former site of the Sama Nisenan about 1843 (presumably after the Indian uprising of 1841). Gualacomne was the only name of all the tribelets of the Sacramento River section to have been referred to as late as 1850.

### 3. YLAMNE

Location: Duran in 1817 referred to the Ylamne as living some distance to the north on Elkhorn Slough, west of the Sacramento River. The most suitable site for the tribelet center would be Yol-53 (two miles southwest of Clarksburg), a large historic site which has yielded evidence of occupation from Early Phase 2 to late Mission times.



Marriage: Numerous ties with Olonapatme, followed closely by Gualacomne; also Chupumne and Siusumne in 1834. (One Yatchicumne Yokuts wife might be represented, but she was probably married to a Lelamne Miwok, misread as Ylamne by Pinart.)

Missionization: In process 1818-1836, with 74 baptisms, mostly in 1834.

References: Mentioned by Duran in 1817. Associated with the Cosomne and Siusumne as Mexican allies in battle against the Ochejamne and Junizumne in 1830 (Cook 1962:187).

Confusion: Schenck (1926) and Cook (1955a:64-65) both identified the Ylamne with the Lelamne; the latter represented a distinct tribelet on the Mokelumne River (see tribelet 24).

Comment: The Ylamne appear to have been a minor tribelet. The group readily accepted baptism, and in view of the marriage ties and 1830 military alliance, we can infer that the tribelet was associated with the Cosumnes group rather than with the North Delta group. Absence of post-Mission references suggests that most of the survivors of the 1833 plague moved to Mission San Jose, while the few who may have resisted baptism lost their identity upon amalgamation with the nearby larger tribelets (probably the Gualacomne and Olonapatme).

#### 4. CHUPUMNE

Location: "Chupumne" was visited in 1817 by Duran, who located the tribelet center on the east bank of the Sacramento River where the town of Hood now stands (Cook 1960:274, 277-278, May 19). This location coincides with the archaeological site Sac-62 (unexcavated). Correctly located by Schenck (1926:133).

Marriage: In 1834 there were marriage ties with Gualacomne and Ylamne.

Missionization: In process, 1828-1836 with eight baptisms, mostly in 1828.

References: Inhabitants fled the village when visited by Duran in 1817. Remnant living near New Helvetia in 1840 (Phelps). Listed as Miwok by Hale in 1841.

Comment: The Chupumne serve as a specific example of the caution needed in dealing with the synonymy of variant names. Chupumne, with only eight recorded baptisms scattered between 1828 and 1836, is only six miles north of (or farther from Mission San Jose than) Chucumne. The latter furnished 369 baptisms, recorded between 1816 and 1825. The near identity in name, the abnormally small number of baptisms from Chupumne, the lack of overlapping dates for the two tribelets, and the absence of Chupumne from the 1824 Map would all support the conclusion that a single tribelet was represented. One might infer that between 1825 and 1828 a new scribe heard a certain sound slightly differently and recorded the native village of a few straggling Chucumne as a new variant, Chupumne. Fortunately, the distinctness of these two tribelets is beyond question because Duran gave a precise location for Chucumne on May 17, 1817, and later located Chupumne as a separate village.



That two villages of a single tribelet were not represented is indicated by the firm location of Ochejamne, largest of the Sacramento River tribelets, between Chucumne and Chupumne. The spoken names were quite distinct, for no variants of Chucumne appear in the baptismal register, and "Chupumney" is the only variant for Chupumne. Whereas Chucumne appears repeatedly in the mission register, only Chupumne is referred to in the Sutter documents.

The late date of the first baptism suggests that the Chupumne were ardent supporters of the resistance to the mission which was centered among the Ochejamne; as already discussed under exploration diaries, it is probable that the Chupumne were one of four allied tribelets which fought the Spanish in the 1813 battle (see tribelet 7). Though neighboring tribelets did yield to missionization after the 1830 battle, the Chupumne appear to have resisted baptism until secularization, and the population of the tribelet must have been devastated by the 1833 plague. The name does not appear in the Sutter period documents after 1841, so the tribelet must have become extinct as an organized group prior to 1845, when Sutter began his New Helvetia Diary.

##### 5. SIUSUMNE

Location: The Siusumne are almost as problematical as the Hulpumne. No specific placement for the tribelet is provided in the documents, but the repeated associations with the North Delta group suggest a location on the Sacramento River. In 1830 they lived "close by" the Ylamne (Cook 1962:187). The only major archaeological site in this section which lacks a name is Yol-54 on the west bank of Elkhorn Slough, west of the Sacramento River and 1.5 miles northwest of Courtland. Although no controlled excavations have been made in the site; it is large enough to qualify as a tribelet center, and historic burials have been reported. Since the baptismal dates and reported alliances agree with this possible location, Siusumne is tentatively identified with Yol-54. The ruined village mentioned on May 17, 1817, by Arguello was probably in Siusumne territory (Cook 1960:277).

Marriage: Allied with Ochejamne, Ylamne, and Nasune.

Missionization: In process 1827-1836, with 14 baptisms, mostly in 1834. The name appears to have been difficult to transcribe in Spanish orthography. Variants are numerous and include Seusumne, Sibusumne, and Sigusumne. As discussed below, inclusion of Sicomnes and Servushamnes as variants would seem indicated for the post-Mission period.

References: In 1830 the "Sigousamenes," Ylamne and Cosomne supported the Mexicans (with American fur trapper aid) in battles against the Ochejamne and Junizumne (Cook 1962:187; see tribelet 6). In 1837 the "Sicomnes" and Ochejamne made a treaty with Vallejo, and both tribelets attacked the Muqueleme in 1838 (see exploration diaries, Chapter 4). It seems most probable that "Sicomnes" is a shortened form of "Sigusumne" since hard c and g were often confused (note Gualacomne, Walagomne under tribelet 1), and Vallejo often used aberrant spellings. Although "Sicomnes" is similar to "Zicomne," the name of the Siakumne Yokuts in the Mission San Jose register, one can reject this possible synonymy for reasons given under Confusion below.

This problem did not arise in connection with the Hale (1846) list of tribelets, obtained from Sutter in 1841, because both "Sicumnes" and



"Servushamnes" were listed as Miwok, while "Secumnes (Sekomne)" was listed as Nisenan, proving that three distinct tribelets were represented in addition to the distant Siakumne Yokuts. However, by a process of elimination it is the unique "Servushamne" which must represent still another attempt to render the difficult second syllable of Siusumne (via "Seusumne"), and Hale's "Sicumnes" must actually be a misread Lelamne. Otherwise, one has to cope with two problems instead of one: why are the Lelamne absent from this list of tribelets known to Sutter, and why is there no other reference to the "Servushamne"? The Mission San Jose baptismal record indicated that the Siusumne (14 baptisms) and Lelamne (22 baptisms) were still resisting conversion in 1836, so most of the population remained in their native villages; both groups appeared as organized tribelets in the post-mission period. In 1840 Phelps misread Sutter's rendering of "Lielimne" (Lelamne herein) as "Siclimnes" (see p. 32). Since Hale obtained his long list of Miwok tribelets from Sutter the next year, the Lelamne should also have appeared (they were mentioned as late as 1847 in the New Helvetia Diary). The only possibility in Hale's list is "Sicumnes" which could easily represent a misreading of "Lielimnes" (S = L, c = e, u = li), just as Phelps created "Siclimnes." "Servushamnes" certainly could not be a variant of Lelamne, and therefore is the only name left to equate with the Siusumne, a tribelet still large enough to fight the Muqueleme in 1838. Any alternative interpretation would have to explain why Sutter had not yet heard of the nearby Siusumne, and why the Servushamne did not appear in the baptismal records, the New Helvetia Diary, or the Gatten census.

Confusion: Cook (1962:208, note 38) identified the 1830 "Sigousamenes" with the "Seguamne" (Seuamne herein) and suggested Northern Yokuts affiliation; see tribelet 22 for correction of these errors.

Cook (1955a:65, 66) equated the 1830 "Sigousamenes" with the Siakumne Yokuts, who were living on the upper Stanislaus River in the 1840's, and appear in the Mission San Jose register as variants of Zicomne. The following factors indicate that the Siusumne were a Miwok group, quite distinct from the Siakumne Yokuts.

a. Even though the Siakumne were riding horses by 1830, it seems extremely unlikely that such a distant San Joaquin Valley group would become involved on at least three occasions (1830, 1837 and 1838) with a cluster of tribelets living on the lower Sacramento River. This point can be emphasized for several reasons. In the first place, the famed Jesus (heard as Cossus by American reporters), chief of the Siakumne, was a bitter enemy of the Mexicans and inherited the mantle of war leader when Estanislao fled in 1829 (Tinkham 1923:41; Gein 1942:73). Since it was Vallejo who caused the latter's flight, one may truly wonder whether the Siakumne would have served as Mexican auxiliaries the very next year, or that Jesus would have signed a treaty with Vallejo in 1837. Only the American Weber (founder of Stockton after 1845) was able to live in peace with a weakened Jesus. In addition, the hostile Muqueleme controlled the territory between the Siakumne and Ochejamne by this time; as early as 1828 members of this strong Miwok tribelet frequently visited the mouth of the Stanislaus River, and exploited the resources of Yokuts territory left depopulated by missionization; they were equestrian by 1830 (see tribelet 23). To reach the lower Sacramento River the Siakumne would have had to risk skirmishes with the Muqueleme or cross the unfamiliar



marshland of the Delta.

b. Prior to the 1830 battles, Alcalde Jimenez went first to the Cosomne for aid, then to the Siusumne and Ylamne--"all of whom lived close by" (Cook 1962:187). Since the Stanislaus River is 45 miles from Cosomne it is evident that the "Sigousamenes" were not the Siakumne Yokuts.

c. Although only six female names were available for Siusumne, all were definite Miwok (four end in -maye, two end in -aeme).

d. The various references to the Siakumne ("Siyakumne," "Sagewomnee") in the Mexican and American period documents never included variants with the internal s, whereas most of the Siusumne variants shared this feature. Two distinct groups are indicated.

e. The marriage ties of the Siusumne with the Ylamne and Ochejamne would be most unusual for such a distant Yokuts group as the Siakumne (though the Laquisimas Yokuts, living only slightly closer, did take occasional wives from tribelets on the Mokelumne River and at the mouth of the Cosumnes River).

Synonymy of Siusumne, "Sigousamenes," "Sicomnes" of Vallejo, and "Servushamne" has therefore been assumed, the tribelet has been placed near the lower Sacramento River, and the following interpretation emerges as an integrated whole.

Comment: The Siusumne belong with the North Delta group of cooperating tribelets, living on Elkhorn Slough. They were probably one of the four tribelets involved in the 1813 battle between the Spanish and the Junizumne (see Chapter 4). The Siusumne refused baptism until 1827 and, together with the nearby Chupumne, continued to resist missionization even after the 1833 plague; only 14 members of the tribelet were baptized by the time of secularization in 1836. For unknown reasons, the Siusumne joined the Mexicans as allies against the Ochejamne and Junizumne in the 1830 battles, but this inter-tribelet conflict had no lasting effect. In 1837 the Siusumne were again allied with the Ochejamne, signed a treaty with Vallejo, and in 1838 the two tribelets raided the Muqueleme in order to return stolen horses to Sonoma. When attacked one month later by the Muqueleme, the Siusumne sought aid from Vallejo (see Chapter 4). By 1840 the Siusumne had shifted allegiance to Sutter, and were presumably among the Sacramento River tribelets attacked by Salvador Vallejo. The tribelet is last referred to in 1841 (the "Servushamne" of Hale) so the group would appear to have suffered the same fate as the Chupumne. Both had resisted missionization and therefore bore the full brunt of exposure to the 1833 plague; weakened by other epidemics and several battles (first with the Muqueleme and then with Vallejo), both tribelets appear to have ceased to function as independent units by 1845.

#### 6. OCHEJAMNE

Location: In 1817 Duran (Cook 1960:275, 278, May 21) located this named village on the Sacramento River at its juncture with Steamboat Slough, a location which coincides with site Sac-70 (unexcavated), 1.5 miles south of Courtland. The village is shown to the north of the Quenemsia and northwest of the Junizumne on the 1824 Map.



Marriage: In 1834 one male was baptized with a Siusumne wife. As discussed in Chapter 4, available data suggest that prior to the 1833 plague this group practiced tribelet endogamy or had developed patrilines.

Missionization: Nearly completed between 1829-1836, with 428 baptisms, mostly in 1831. Some 348 of these were baptized between Dec. 29, 1830, and May 4, 1831, and probably reflect the defeat suffered in the 1830 battles (see below). The Ochejamne were the last group to accept baptism within the arc formed by the Gualacomne, Cosomne and Noypumne, and appear to have been a center of resistance to missionization until after 1830.

References: Duran found the village of 40 houses abandoned in 1817, a fact which contributes to the inference that the Ochejamne were participants in the 1813 battle (see Chapter 4). The village symbol used on the 1824 Map indicates that the inhabitants had not yet submitted to baptism. Supported the Junizumne in the 1830 battle against the Mexicans, Ylamne, Cosomne, and Siusumne. After the Mexicans lost the first battle, they obtained aid from American fur trappers (Ewing Young, Kit Carson) and defeated the Ochejamne; the village was burned (Cook 1962:187; Camp 1922:115). The Ochejamne, together with the Siusumne, were allied with Vallejo (ms. 1:65) in 1837-1838. After shifting allegiance to Sutter, the Ochejamne participated in a raid on Napa Valley, and were attacked by Salvador Vallejo in 1840 (Vallejo ms. 2:86; Yount 1923:54). Remnant living at New Helvetia in July, 1840 (Phelps). Referred to as Miwok by Hale in 1841. The last historical reference to the Ochejamne is the mention of the death in 1847 of a member of Sutter's Indian Infantry Company who had come from this tribelet (Sutter 1939). Merriam (1907:349, Pl. 49) listed the group as a "tribe" and allotted most of the north Delta to them; this territory might reflect an informant's knowledge of the cooperative unit termed the North Delta group herein, but historical records indicate that multiple tribelets held this land. Kroeber (1925: Pl. 38) placed "Ocheak" at the mouth of Dry Creek on the Cosumnes River, presumably because Barrett (1908:340) obtained a location for this village as "a few miles west of Galt"; Duran's precise placement would be 15 miles west of Galt, but on the Sacramento River. Vocabularies and sentences were collected by Kroeber (1959a:3; Barrett 1908:356) from survivors near Pleasanton.

Comment: The Ochejamne represented the largest tribelet on the Sacramento River, and were probably second in size only to the Muqueleme among all the Plains Miwok tribelets (comparative data are not available for the Cosomne). No other tribelet furnished as many neophytes as the Ochejamne (428 baptisms) at any of the five northern missions. Available house counts are in agreement as to relative size of the tribelet centers: in 1817 Duran counted 40 houses at Ochejak (the Chucumne center had only 35), while in 1828 Smith reported 50 houses at Muquel.

Despite the large number of baptisms, it seems clear that the Ochejamne played a leading role in the resistance to missionization which was centered among the North Delta tribelets. The first Ochejamne was not baptized until 1829, 18 years after the first Quenemsia (just to the south) had yielded. Of the 25 Plains Miwok tribelets which were recorded in the mission registers, only four small and peripheral tribelets appear later than the Ochejamne.



Though the neighboring Junizumne, closer to Mission San Jose, were specified as the tribelet actually attacked by the Spanish in 1813 and the Mexicans in 1830, this smaller tribelet would not have acted as it did without the support of the much larger Ochejamne. The 1830 battles were stated to have been fought because the Junizumne were granting refuge to fugitive neophytes, and they fled to the Ochejamne village where two battles were fought. As discussed in Chapter 4, it is probable that the Ochejamne also supported the Junizumne in the 1813 battle, and there is reason to believe that protection of runaway neophytes by the North Delta tribelets also prompted this first military campaign within Plains Miwok territory. The coincidence between the appearance of the unique "Unsumne" in the mission register for 1813 (one baptism only) and the attack on the village of "Unsumnes" in 1813 (whereas other references to this village are "Unisumne" or Junizumne variants) would suggest that the 1813 battle may have been triggered by the return of the first Junizumne neophyte to his village as an apostate. In view of later events, there can be no doubt that fugitive Ompin, Julpun, Anizumne and other members of southerly tribelets found refuge among the North Delta group.

The Ochejamne seem to have been the dominant tribelet of the North Delta group, a cooperative unit which also included the Junizumne, Chupumne, Siusumne, and probably the Guaypumne. All were characterized by resistance to missionization and do not appear in the baptismal register in numbers until after all surrounding tribelets had been successfully approached by proselytizers. All but the Guaypemne appear to have fought as allies against the Spanish in 1813; the Ochejamne and Chupumne (and by inference the Junizumne) fled the Spanish explorers in 1817; the Ochejamne and Junizumne were allied against the Mexicans in 1830; and the Ochejamne and Siusumne made treaties with Vallejo in 1837 to resist the raids of the Mokelumne group. Prior to the 1833 plague there is no evidence for marriage outside the tribelet. Since both the Ochejamne and Chupumne were very large tribelets living in a region which provided relatively little dry land, it is possible that expansionist tendencies contributed to the limited social intercourse evident between the North Delta group and the Cosumnes group to the north or the Sacramento group of tribelets to the south.

The Ochejamne finally yielded to missionization, with 383 members of the tribelet having been baptized as a group during five months early in 1831. Many of these must have returned to former tribelet territory following secularization in 1836, because the Ochejamne remained the dominant group on the lower Sacramento during the post-Mission, pre-Sutter interim. After making a treaty with Vallejo in 1837, this tribelet, together with the Siusumne, raided the Muqueleme in order to retrieve horses stolen by the latter from Sonoma. The Muqueleme appear to have made an attack in reprisal for this raid one month later. After 1839 the Ochejamne shifted allegiance to Sutter, and raided the Napa Valley early in 1840, events which prompted a general campaign under Salvador Vallejo against the tribelets of the lower Sacramento River. By July, 1840, the Ochejamne and their neighbors are reported to have been living near New Helvetia, where they became laborers for Sutter. The tribelet as such is last mentioned in the historical documents in 1841, so the organized group was probably extinct before 1845.

## 7. JUNIZUMNE

Location: As discussed Chapter 4, the accounts of Arguello (1813) and



Duran (1817) allow the placement of Junizumne ("Unsumnes") at or near Walnut Grove, on the east bank of the Sacramento River. No archaeological site has been reported, so the former village site was probably destroyed during construction of the levee and town. A location at Sac-75, one-half mile to the north at Locke, is also possible (Soule 1976:10).

Marriage: In 1834 one male was married to a Cosomne female.

Missionization: Nearly completed between 1813-1836, with 119 baptisms, mostly in 1828. A single neophyte from "Unsumne" was recorded in 1813; later entries were variants of "Unisumne" followed by Junizumne.

References: The "Unsumnes" were attacked by Soto in 1813 (Cook 1960:265-266; Savage ms.:25; see Chapter 4). On the 1824 Map the village appears with the symbol indicating that most of the inhabitants had not yet submitted to baptism. "Unisumne" was again attacked in 1830 by the Mexicans (Cook 1962:187 see Chapter 4 and tribelet 6).

Confusion: Schenck (1926) identified the "Unsumnes" with the Cosomne, while Cook (1955a) lumped the Junizumne and Anizumne together. The 1824 Map demonstrates that three distinct tribelets existed.

Comment: The Junizumne clearly belonged with the North Delta group of cooperating tribelets. Though less resistant to baptism than other members of this group, the Junizumne were attacked in 1830 for sheltering fugitive neophytes, and it seems likely that the same activity prompted the 1813 attack (see tribelet 6 Comment). Absence of post-mission references suggests that most of the non-baptized population died in the 1833 plague, and no organized tribelet returned to the Sacramento River after secularization of Mission San Jose in 1836.

## 8. GUAYPEMNE

Location: In 1817 Duran visited "Guaypens" while descending Georgiana Slough, just east of the Sacramento River (Cook 1960:275, May 21). The archaeological site Sac-25 (1 glass bead excavated) is located on the east bank of this slough on Tyler Island, four miles southwest of Walnut Grove, and might represent the tribelet center. The same village (unnamed) was probably visited by Abella on May 25, 1811 (Cook 1960:264, May 25). Abella's route is uncertain (Cook 1960:287, note 49), but the following factors support his passage through Georgiana Slough rather than the North Fork of the Mokelumne: the narrow channel, the log jams (also noted by Duran), details of the later passage down the Sacramento (Cook 1960:287, note 52), the lack of reference to the network of sloughs near Walnut Grove, and the lack of reference to a village (Junizumne) firmly located at Walnut Grove. In his ambiguous discourse, Abella claimed that the village was in two sections (one on each side of the river) but he referred to houses only on the east side. Since the men on the west side were reluctant to cross over, it seems probable that Abella mistook visitors (either his suggested war party from "other villages" or acorn gatherers from "several villages", or both) as evidence for a second village. His suggested population of 2000 does not agree with the stated island environment or with the small number of Guaypemne baptisms (41). Even if one accepted the double village as the tribelet centers of the Guaypemne and Musupumne (46 baptisms) and placed them on the North Fork of the



Mokelumne, this population is grossly excessive. It is much more likely that Abella was misled in his estimate by the presence of visitors from Quenemsia (probably visited next), Junizumne (probably those who followed along when he entered the Sacramento), Musupumne, and perhaps even Ochejamne.

Paula, a "Wipa" survivor, placed the tribelet on an island (No-yoop) between the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers, south of the "O'-che-hak" and "Hool-poom-ne," southeast of the "Mokozzumne" (Cosomne), and north of the "Han-ne'-suk" (Anizumne), general relationships which agree with Tyler Island (see Confusion below).

Missionization: Completed between 1821-1828, with 41 baptisms, mostly in 1828.

References: If correctly identified as the first village visited by Abella on May 25, 1811, this tribelet and the Quenemsia (?) and neighboring tribelets were preparing to fight the Tauquimne Yokuts (Cook 1960:264). Visited by Duran in 1817 (Cook 1960:275, May 21). Merriam (1907:350; 1967:324, 367) placed the "Wipa" on Sherman Island (see below). Schenck (1926:133) followed Duran and shifted them north. Cook (1955a:60) suggested a population of 300, probably excessive. The group is shown as 21e by Merriam (1966:14), and 21i by Heizer (1966:43, Map 5).

Confusion: The Guaypemne may have been confused with the Musupumne on the 1824 Map. Guaypemne is the only Delta group which is not shown on this map, though it should appear as a non-Christian village at this time. Instead, Musupumne appears in the approximate location indicated for Guaypemne by Duran, but the symbol associated with Musupumne is that of a non-Christian village; since the peak frequency of Musupumne baptisms occurred in 1824, the village should appear as a Christian village. The 1824 Map is so distorted that at least two explanations seem possible.

a. The 1824 cartographer intended to show the non-Christian village of Guaypemne but mislabeled the correct symbol as Musupumne; the population of the Musupumne center had all come to the mission so their village need not be shown.

b. Since only two Guaypemne had been baptized by the end of 1824, this small tribelet was not considered important enough to place on the map. The cartographer placed Musupumne correctly on Staten Island but was not aware that the North Fork of the Mokelumne River separated Staten Island and Tyler Island. The village was shown as non-Christian because the map was made early in 1824 before most of the Musupumne were baptized.

In view of Duran's visit, it can be suggested that the Guaypemne held both Tyler Island and Andrus Island (adjacent to the west), while the Musupumne held Staten Island and a small strip of the mainland adjacent to the east. Baptismal dates suggest that the Musupumne were somewhat closer to Mission San Jose than the Guaypemne, but the dates probably reflect resistance to missionization on the part of the latter. The small populations of both would support an island habitat.

Merriam's placement of the "Wipa" on Sherman Island cannot be accepted.



The 1824 Map showed the Julpun as still in possession of this island in 1824, though only a few mission-resisting Indians could have been hiding there by this late date. The baptismal dates for Guaypemne are much too late for a location so close to Mission San Jose. Sherman Island was barely habitable and was passed frequently during the Sutter period, so resettlement in the post-Mission period seems unlikely. Merriam (1967:367) inferred a Sherman Island location from information provided by Paula, an aged, full-blood "Wipa" survivor interviewed near Pleasanton in 1905. Her original terminology is unknown; in this rewritten account Merriam called the "Wipa" a "Moccozumne" subtribe rather than an independent tribe as in 1907. In addition to the correct location of her original home given above, Paula placed her village south of the Suisun (Southern Patwin) and said her territory extended to the "Big Water" (Suisun Bay)--hence Merriam's selection of Sherman Island. However, Duran visited "Guaypens" on Tyler Island in 1817, and the Tyler-Andrus-Brannan Island complex will fit Paula's description if one assumes that Suisun was used as a general referent for Southern Patwin (see tribelet 12 also). Some 77 years had elapsed since the last Guaypemne baptism, and her failure to recall other nearby tribelets indicates a fading memory. While Merriam's location is wrong, there is no need to reject the synonymy of Guaypemne and "Wipa" as done by Cook (1955a:60).

That the Guaypemne were Plains Miwok (and not Bay Miwok) is proven by a short vocabulary obtained from Paula (partially published in Merriam 1967:367). Note that lek-kah (rabbit-skin blanket) agrees with the Cosomne term for "rug" obtained by Prince Paul (Clark 1959), although the Muqueleme term was udjule, (Barrett 1908:365, no. 92). The word for "sandal," solomeh, (a Spanish loan word according to Merriam) was also obtained from the Cosomne ("moccasin") and the Knights Ferry Yokuts (Kroeber 1959a:10, sulema). The Nisenan term solo is regarded as aboriginal (Udall and Shipley 1966). Merriam (ms. 2) provided four additional "Wipa" words which are standard Plains Miwok (I include Merriam's recording of "Mokozumne" and "Mokalumne" terms contrasted with Barrett's 1908 Plains Miwok; the Bay Miwok word for water was kiko according to Beeler 1955:203).

	<u>"Wipa"</u>	<u>"Mokozumne"</u>	<u>"Mokalumne"</u>	<u>Plains Miwok</u>
Water	keek	keek	keek	kik
Fire	wu-ka'	wú-ka	wú-ke	wuke
Coyote	o-lá -nah	--	o-let'-te	oleti
Raccoon	pot'-kah-sa'	--	pat-kah'-se	--

Merriam (in Heizer 1966:43) included "Khulpuni" as a "Wipa (Guaypem)" variant, but this was the Russian Chamisso's term for the Julpun Bay Miwok (compare with Choris list published by Mahr 1932).

Comment: The Guaypemne appear to have been one of the smallest Plains Miwok tribelets and controlled territory which included only marshy islands (probably the Tyler-Andrus-Brannan group). It is probable that the population normally resided in a single village, and only fishing camps were maintained elsewhere. Guaypemne (with suffix) was recorded only three times, while the name of the tribelet center itself (Guaypem) appeared six times (some of the former would represent out-marrying wives). The probable tribelet center (Sac-25) has yielded one glass bead while two other sites in probable



Guaypemne territory (Sac-45, Sac-203) have yielded remains only of the early protohistoric period. A baked clay industry and ornament types differentiated these sites from the Diablo district (Bay Miwok) to the south.

The relatively late dates recorded for the first Guaypemne baptism (1821) and the delayed peak frequency (1828) suggest that this tribelet belonged to the North Delta group. The island inhabitants must have been dependent on these friendly mainland neighbors for access to dry land where they could collect seeds and hunt, in exchange for acorns (if Abella is correct), fish and waterfowl. Absence of post-mission references would indicate that the tribelet became extinct at Mission San Jose except for one Pleasanton survivor.

#### 9. MUSUPUMNE

Location: The only clues to location are those provided by the 1824 Map and the baptismal dates. As discussed under tribelet 8, the placement on the 1824 Map is ambiguous, because the Delta islands are not accurately represented and a wrong symbol is associated with the name. If Musupumne has not been confused with Guaypemne on this map, an island location east of the Quenemsia and southeast of the Junizumne is indicated. The baptismal dates are in agreement with such a placement, and suggest a location between the Tauquimne Yokuts and the Guaypemne Miwok. The tribelet center has therefore been placed on Staten Island on the west bank of the South Fork of the Mokelumne river. No archaeological site has yet been reported in this unsurveyed region. Only the natural levees would appear to have been above water prior to American reclamation, so the Musupumne probably held some drier land east of the Mokelumne River.

Marriage: One Musupumne male had a Julpun Bay Miwok wife.

Missionization: Completed between 1818-1824, with 46 baptisms, mostly in 1824.

References: None other than the baptismal register and the 1824 Map. If Abella sailed up the North Fork of the Mokelumne River in 1811, instead of Georgiana Slough, the "double" village identified herein as Guaypens could be Musupumne (see tribelet 8).

Confusion: Merriam (1907:349) obtained the name "Supu" as a village of the "Mokozumne tribe" and gave a precise location on the Cosumnes River. The baptismal dates will not support a Mission period equivalence of Musupumne and "Supu" (the nearby Cosomne dates were 1826-1836); since the Sutter documents contain no variants of either name, "Supu" cannot represent the post-mission resettlement of the Musupumne tribelet in a new location. It is therefore proposed that Musupumne is a Delta tribelet and "Supu" is a subsidiary village of the Cosomne (see tribelet 16).

Comment: The Musupumne appear to have been a small tribelet, comparable to the Guaypemne. Their early acceptance of baptism may indicate that the tribelet maintained closest ties with the Sacramento group, or perhaps with the Julpun Bay Miwok. Absence of post-mission references would indicate that the tribelet became extinct at Mission San Jose.



10. QUENEMSIA

Location: Both Duran in 1817 and the 1824 Map placed the Quenemsia on Grand Island, formed between the Sacramento River and Steamboat Slough. The tribelet center was probably at Ryde (or just to the south), a location which would agree with the second unnamed village (14 houses) visited by Abella on May 25, 1811 (Cook 1960:264; see tribelet 8); other hamlets of two or three houses were seen downriver. The island (mostly below sea level) has not been surveyed for archaeological sites.

Marriage: One male had a Jalalon Yokuts wife.

Missionization: Completed between 1811-1828, with 186 baptisms, mostly in 1825. The two baptisms from this tribelet in 1811 represent the first Plains Miwok to become neophytes.

References: In 1796 Costanoan informants told Sal that the "Quinensiat nacion" lived "on the other side of the rivers" beyond the Julpun (Cook 1960:242). The odd selection of four "nations" given to Sal suggests that this informant was probably identifying nearby representatives of different linguistic groups and thus provided the earliest reference to speakers of the Plains Miwok language. The other three "nations" referred to were the "Julpones" (Julpun Bay Miwok), "Taunantoc" (Taunan Northern Yokuts), and "Quisitoc" (probably Central Yokuts of the Merced River region). The Quisitoc were "bald Indians", a condition so unusual that they can be identified with the "Bald Indians" referred to in 1806 by both Zalvidea and Muñoz (Cook 1960:246, 249), and they were probably the Quisats of Mission San Juan Bautista (p. 280).

Probably visited by Abella (see above). Duran in 1817 referred to Grand Island as "Island of the Quenemsias" (Cook 1960:274, 275, 297). Shown as non-Christian on the 1824 Map. Correctly located by Schenck (1926:133) from Duran. Cook (1955a:60) suggested a population of 400, probably excessive.

Comment: Despite the fact that the name Quenemsia never appears with the -mne suffix, the large population, "nation" status, and consistent appearance of the name for 32 years all indicate that a tribelet is represented and not just a subsidiary village. No explanation for this variant usage is apparent. While four names is not an adequate sample, the endings of feminine names from Quenemsia (-maya, -caye, -paye, -cse) all occur in other Plains Miwok lists, and none are found among Bay Miwok names (-laye, -maye, -taye, -te are typical of the latter). The frequency of the -aye ending is particularly high among the Anizumne, Guaypemne, and Seuamne (though it is absent among the nearby Musupumne). These names as well as the early acceptance of baptism support the inclusion of the Quenemsia with the Sacramento group of cooperating tribelets. The absence of the Quenemsia in the post-mission documents would indicate that the tribelet became extinct at Mission San Jose.

11. CHUCUMNE

Location: In 1817 Duran located this village as west of the Sacramento River, on the west bank of Sutter Slough at its juncture with Miner Slough, one mile east of Oxford (Cook 1960:274, 277). No archaeological site is yet known in this incompletely surveyed portion of the Delta, but a mound appears on the west bank of Sutter Slough on the contour map of the Vorden quadrangle.



Marriage: One woman was married to an Anizumne male.

Missionization: Completed between 1816-1825, with 369 baptisms, mostly in 1823.

References: Visited by Duran in 1817. Shown as a Christian village on the 1824 Map (the cross symbol is blurred; reproduced as non-Christian by Heizer 1974a:Fig. 23). Placed correctly by Schenck (1926:133). Cook (1955a:60) suggested a population of 750, which was probably excessive.

Confusion: As discussed under tribelet 5, Chucumne is quite distinct from Chupumne.

Comment: A large tribelet is indicated by the number of baptisms (second only to the Ochejamne), and Duran's house count of 1817 (35 houses). As discussed under tribelet 6, the Chucumne probably represented the fourth largest Plains Miwok tribelet, following the Muqueleme, Ochejamne, and Cosomne.

In view of this large size, the rapid acceptance of missionization, and the marriage tie with Anizumne, it can be suggested that the Chucumne represented the central tribelet of a Sacramento group of cooperating tribelets, which may have included the Anizumne, Quenemsia, and perhaps the Musupumne. There is no evidence of association with the North Delta group, though the rarity of historical references to the Sacramento group may be due to the early exhaustion of all four tribelets.

All surviving tribelet members were living at Mission San Jose by the end of 1825 or had lost their identity by joining adjacent tribelets. Absence of post-mission references would indicate that no organized Chucumne group returned to the Delta after secularization in 1836.

## 12. ANIZUMNE

Location: On the 1824 Map the village is placed between the Ompin and Chucumne, west of the Quenemsia on the west bank of the Sacramento River. Merriam's location of the "Hannesuk" can be interpreted to mean the Sacramento River (see Confusion below). One source reported "Halo chemuck" as a village name placed just north of Rio Vista, but, as discussed under Comment below, the associations of this name are confused. No archaeological sites are known in this unsurveyed section, but the tribelet center may have been at Rio Vista or on the knoll one-half mile north of Rio Vista, beside the small marsh on the west bank of the Sacramento River.

Marriage: One male had a wife from Chucumne.

Missionization: Completed between 1812-1825, with 244 baptisms, mostly in 1812. No Indians were seen near Rio Vista by Duran, so the tribelet center was probably abandoned by 1817.

References: Shown as a Christian village on the 1824 Map. See Confusion and Comment below.

Confusion: There can be little doubt that Merriam's (1907:350, Pl. 25)



"Hannesuk tribe" actually refers to the dimly remembered Anizumne, one survivor of which gave the name as "Han-ne-su." The variant with the -k suffix was given by Paula, a survivor of the nearby "Wipa" (Guaypemne), who located the "Hannesuk" as south or southeast of the "Wipa", with a principal village "on a big river" (Merriam 1967:367). This variant is correct grammatically for a Miwok speaker (Barrett 1908:341). Merriam assumed the "big river" was the San Joaquin; however, if the Guaypemne are shifted north to their 1817 location, it becomes obvious that the "big river" was actually the Sacramento. Merriam's placement of the "Hannesuk" in the south Delta is unacceptable because the documents of the Mission period clearly indicate Julpun occupation of the region, and the only name in the mission registers which could correspond to the "Hannesuk" is Anizumne. However, in his unpublished list of "Mewko" (Plains Miwok) tribes and villages, Merriam noted that a member of the "Han-ne-su-tribe" (thus a different informant) claimed that their territory included Pleasanton, Livermore, Tracy, Lothrop, French Camp, and Stockton (these towns extend in an east-west belt from Seunen Costanoan territory to Yatchicumne Yokuts territory on Map 2); in addition, he maintained that the "tribe" was the same as the Yatchicumne who had their village at or near Stockton (Merriam ms. 1). The territorial claims of this latter informant are quite impossible for any Miwok or Yokuts group, and no other evidence suggests that the Anizumne spoke Yokuts. Paula claimed their language "differed only a little" from Guaypemne. This "Hannesu" informant was probably Joe Benoko, interviewed in 1910 at Sunol (Merriam 1967:368). The Yatchicumne Yokuts are known to have continued to live near Pleasanton after secularization, but, until 1852, they made annual visits to their ancestral village located just west of Weber's rancho which later became Stockton (Gein 1942:72). It can be suggested that this "Hannesu" descendant had joined the Yatchicumne Yokuts, and that he interpreted the post-mission trips of the Yatchicumne through now depopulated territory as indicative of former ownership of the land between Pleasanton and Stockton. His claims have no bearing on aboriginal conditions, but indicate why Merriam assigned so much territory to the Yatchicumne Yokuts.

Judging solely on the basis of Merriam's placement of the "Hannesuk," Kroeber (1908:376-377) suggested the group was Yokuts. However, the personal names are Plains Miwok. By 1939, Merriam (1966:14, no. 21g) had shifted the "Hannesuk" west of the Guaypemne, but a southern location was retained by Heizer (1966: Map 5, no. 21j). Cook (1955a:64) identified the Anizumne with the Junizumne but the 1824 Map and the baptismal dates indicate that distinct tribelets were represented.

Comment: The Anizumne represented a moderate sized tribelet which accepted missionization immediately. The group had probably been exposed to Christian proselytizers who had been active among the neighboring Bay Miwok since 1804, and the majority of the Anizumne (199 persons) submitted to baptism in 1812, only one year after the first Plains Miwok (a Quenemsia) appeared in the baptismal register. This early removal to Mission San Jose probably explains the absence of references to the group in the exploration journals while long residence at the mission accounts for the confused recollections about the "Hannesu" and "Hannesuk".

The early acceptance of baptism and the marriage ties suggests close association with the Chucumne and warrant the inclusion of the Anizumne with



the Sacramento group of cooperating tribelets. The Anizumne and Musupumne shared an unusually high frequency of the -mayen suffix in feminine personal names (42 per cent of all names have this ending for both tribelets), which may be another indication of close contact between these southwestern Plains Miwok groups (Chucumne names display a normal Plains Miwok frequency--26 per cent--for this suffix, however).

There are no contemporary references to the Anizumne by name in the post-mission documents and most of the survivors of this tribelet probably continued to live in the Indian settlements near Mission San Jose and in the Livermore Valley. However, it is possible that a few Anizumne families (no organized tribelet) returned to the Sacramento River and were responsible for the name "Halo Chemuck" which appeared in the late Sutter period. Unfortunately, the associations of this name are quite garbled. The name was applied to a landing spot just north of the future town of Rio Vista, within the Los Ulpinos land grant awarded to Bidwell in 1846.<sup>32</sup> This land grant, though named after the Ompin Bay Miwok, included most of the territory of both the Ompin and the Anizumne. Even by Bancroft's time there were two versions of the origin of the name "Halo Chemuck". By one account the party of immigrants whom Bidwell settled on the grant in 1846 nearly starved to death so the Indian name "Halo Chemuck", meaning "nothing to eat", was retained as a place name after the grant was abandoned. Another version reported that Indians called out "halachummuck" when they killed a party of starving hunters in this region, after the three families which settled Los Ulpinos had left for the gold fields (cf. Bancroft 1888:18). Since Sutter (1939:101-102) was already using the place name ("Hela Chamack") for the Rio Vista landing in 1847, before the discovery of gold, the latter tale is probably an invention. Nonetheless, both reports suggest that a few Indians had returned to the region after secularization, and were still living there between 1846 and 1849. The first version may have some basis in fact, because the translation given for "Halo Chemuck" (Sutter's "Hela Chamack" is even better) is reasonable in Plains Miwok: hela means "no" and tcamak means "eat" in Muqueleme (Barrett 1908:366-367). This would support the conclusion that the Indians who returned were Anizumne Plains Miwok rather than Ompin Bay Miwok ("no" is given as ile in the Saclan vocabulary). However, the meaning seems inappropriate for an aboriginal village name in this lush region, and the double word form is aberrant for a village name. One source (Anonymous 1891:91, 248) did refer to a village with this name located at or just north of Rio Vista, but this information was probably derived from Bancroft. Two possibilities might be suggested. First, a few Anizumne had returned to their ancestral tribelet center situated on the most suitable landing spot in the region, where they were found by the immigrants in 1846. When the immigrants failed to make a go of the new venture, the Anizumne referred to them as starving, and the Indian words were retained as a place name. Second, "Halo Chemuck" is an American distortion of Anizu, the name of the tribelet center (it is possible that native pronunciation approached "Anishuk"). In view of such variants as "Hannesuk" for Anizumne and "Ulpinos" for Ompin, such distortion seems possible, but would not explain the double word form or the fact that the name does appear to be a meaningful phrase in Plains Miwok. At any rate, one may question any aboriginal use of "Halo Chemuck" as a place name.

The change in suffixes and personal names to the south suggests that the



Anizumne were the southwesternmost Plains Miwok tribelet. The Ompin and Julpun are considered to be Bay Miwok herein because the endings used on feminine names differ from the Plains Miwok constellation, and archaeological remains from their territory display characteristic traits of the Diablo district rather than the Cosumnes district. While it may never be possible to prove, one may suggest that the Ompin, Julpun, Chupcan, and Wolwon spoke the same language as the Saclan. The Tolenas to the west have Southern Patwin personal names, while the Tauquimne to the southeast have Yokuts personal names.

#### The Cosumnes River Tribelets

As already indicated in Chapter 4, the ethnographic data on Cosumnes River settlements presented by Merriam (1907) and Kroeber (1925) are unsatisfactory because there is no discussion of informants, the -mne suffix was not retained for tribelet names, some names are claimed to have been Nisenan settlements, and the village locations are not always in agreement. Merriam's list of settlements was collected earlier and is the more complete, while his locations appear to be in better agreement with the few available checks than are those given in Kroeber's partial and composite list. It is clear that Merriam also had multiple informants, including both Miwok and Nisenan, but it is not possible to determine which informant provided which name. In the evaluation of the ethnographic data it has been assumed that any name which does not appear in the documents of the Mission or Sutter periods is a subsidiary village, and these have been rather arbitrarily assigned to the tribelets which can be identified in the historical records. There is no historical support for Merriam's lumping of 18 settlements into a single "Mokozumne tribe" holding the entire valley drainage of the Cosumnes River as well as a portion of the Sacramento River. While part of the boundary drawn for this "tribe" agrees with the cooperative unit called the Cosumnes group of tribelets herein, the Valley treaty data suggest that the lower Cosumnes River tribelets belonged with the Mokelumne group. There can be little question that at least five of Merriam's "Mokozumne" villages (Tihuechemne, Sotolomne, Olonapatme, Amuchamne, Lopotsimne) were independent tribelets in aboriginal times.

Merriam's orthography is so cumbersome that his rendering of each name will be given only as a variant in the listing of tribelets which follows this introductory discussion (it should be remembered that he dropped the -mne suffix of tribelet names, a fact which adds to the seeming dissimilarity in some of the variants which are proposed as synonymous herein). The analysis of the late occupation of the upper Cosumnes River which follows is sufficiently complex so that inclusion of each specific variant used by Merriam, Kroeber, Sutter, Gatten, Hale, or mission scribes would be distracting. Unless a variant is needed for clarity, the discussion will be phrased in terms of the names which appear on Map 3 (derived from the baptismal registers or the most common ethnographic variant). It is quite possible that some of the identities assumed herein (e.g., the "Kolone" of Merriam would seem to be the same as the "Olomutchamne" of Gatten and the "Olonapatme" of the Mission San Jose baptismal register, as discussed under tribelet 15) are in error. However, the contemporary lists which are provided by the baptismal registers, Phelps, Hale, the New Helvetia Diary, and the



Gatten census are in reasonable agreement with the 12 occupied villages on the Cosumnes River which were counted by Moraga in 1808 (before the 1833 plague). There should be some equivalence between the historical and ethnographic data (though it is remarkably slight), so an effort has been made to reduce the number of names to a minimum. No Cosumnes River identifications have been strained to the extent of the "Servushamne" - Siusumne synonymy suggested in the Sacramento River section. The most doubtful equivalence is the proposed synonymy of Merriam's "Too-koo-e" and the Mission period "Tihuechemne"; since "Tiguechemne" and "Toguicomne" both appear in the baptismal register with dates inseparable from "Tihuechemne", it seems reasonable to identify Tookooe, Toguic, and Tihuech as a single village.

The aboriginal meaning of Merriam's "Mokozumne" (Kroeber's "Mokosumni") is quite uncertain as a group label, except that the term appears to be a Valley Nisenan referent denoting the Cosumnes River region or some division of the aboriginal Miwok inhabitants. Kroeber (1925) showed this name as a Plains Miwok village on the Cosumnes River. Merriam (1907) used the designation "Mokozumne" for the Plains Miwok "tribe" which held the entire valley section of the Cosumnes River, but did not list this name (or any variant of Cosomne) as a village. Neither Kroeber nor Merriam provided any comment on the meaning of the term nor did they indicate their source(s). Kroeber's 1929 informant, Tom Cleanso, was known to have been a Valley Nisenan who was not referring to a village but to a general grouping or location. A problem arises because "Mokosumni" variants never appear in the historical record prior to 1850. All references to the tribelet and the river, including the responses of the inhabitants themselves (in the baptismal record) and Sutter (who named the river), are consistent variants of Cosomne. The single non-ethnographic use of the Mo- variant noted in the historical documents is of Gold Rush date, when an American reporter called the upper Cosumnes River (in Northern Miwok territory, not the valley) the "Mokosumi River" (Anonymous 1850). This seems to be another indication of Nisenan intrusion in the historic period. At any rate, one must conclude from the historical data that "Mokosumni" is not a Plains Miwok rendering.

The major problem in the ethnographic data concerns the disputed affiliation of the villages on the upper Cosumnes River. Of nine villages assigned to this district by Merriam, eight have questioned associations and include the ninth within their distribution. Merriam (1907:349, 1967:370) listed seven villages as Plains Miwok (Chuyumkatat, Mayeman, Lowemul, Sukididi, Yomit, Lulimal, and Yumhui on Map 3 herein), of which all but Lowemul have also been claimed as Valley Nisenan villages by a Valley Nisenan informant, and the omission of Lowemul by Kroeber casts doubt on the significance of this seventh name. The Valley Nisenan claim to six of these villages has been confused by incomplete publication of the original data and the expression of two different interpretations of this claim. The original information appears to have been collected by Gifford in 1915 from Alec Blue, a Valley Nisenan of mixed Anglo-Indian descent who reported that the six names were Valley Nisenan designations for Valley Nisenan villages (Kroeber 1929:259, fn. 12). In the text herein, references to the Valley Nisenan claim to these six villages will refer to Gifford's 1915 data as presented on the map of Plains Miwok territory by Kroeber (1925: Pl. 37). Two other interpretations of these data have been given by Kroeber. In the Handbook, the six names are referred to as Nisenan designations for Plains Miwok



villages (Kroeber 1925:444). This interpretation was presumably prompted by earlier reports that the Plains Miwok held the valley section of the Cosumnes River, as well as by the variation which resulted from the use of different orthographies by Merriam and Gifford. No explanation was provided for several slight shifts in village location from those reported by Merriam.

In 1929, when a different Valley Nisenan informant (Tom Cleanso) failed to recognize four of these names, Kroeber (1929:259, fn. 12) concluded that all six were Plains Miwok names for Plains Miwok villages as Merriam had originally maintained. However, this second informant had been born at the post-Sutter village of Kadema (Sac-192 on the American River on Map 2), had been raised by a mother who came from the Feather River, had been blind from childhood (hence seldom visited distant villages), and could remember only four Plains Miwok names. While his remarkable knowledge of Feather River and middle Sacramento River settlements reflected conditions prior to the 1833 plague, the historical record indicates that much of his information on the Plains Miwok and even the American River Nisenan was derived from the late Sutter and American periods (his deficient knowledge of American River Nisenan ethnography was indicated in Chapter 4 herein). The four Plains Miwok villages (Gualacomne, Amuchamne, Seuamne, Sakayakumne) which he remembered were all important tribelets in the late Sutter period, and Amuchamne persisted into the 1870's as the last organized Cosumnes River tribelet. Yalesumne and Yusumne were important American River Nisenan (Foothill and Valley, respectively) tribelets in the Sutter period, yet were not recognized or were not mentioned by the informant. His failure to understand the -umne suffix must reflect the Feather River bias of his ethnographic knowledge (derived from his mother) because this ending was used consistently in reference to three American River Nisenan tribelets (Sekumne, Yusumne, Yalesumne) and frequently for a fourth (Pusune variants include Bushumnes, Pujetsemne) throughout the Sutter period. It also indicates forgetfulness because he did refer to Hulpumne and Walagumnes when interviewed earlier by Merriam (1966:45, 62). Since only one of the six disputed villages on the Cosumnes River was occupied in 1846 when Gatten made his census, it seems reasonable to conclude that those names which do refer to Plains Miwok villages had been forgotten or were never known to Tom Cleanso because of long abandonment and minor importance (all appear to have been subsidiary villages except for Yumhui). Lack of knowledge of the late Foothill Nisenan occupation (the informant had not heard of Yumhui, probably first occupied by the Foothill Nisenan in 1847) could be due to failing memory and lack of contact. Aside from the late date of the ethnographic interviews and the inactivity imposed by the informant's blindness, the Valley and Foothill Nisenan did not maintain friendly relations, and there is no evidence for any exchange of dances between the Valley Nisenan villages near Sacramento and the important Foothill Nisenan dance center which developed at Michigan Bar (Cosumnes River) during the American period; compare the dance centers mentioned by Gifford (1927) and Kroeber (1929). Actually, the six disputed villages appear to include both Plains Miwok and Foothill Nisenan names.

Yumhui and Palama were given as Plains Miwok by Merriam, but have stronger Foothill Nisenan associations, while Merriam was uncertain whether Lopotsimne was a Plains Miwok village. Unfortunately, Merriam provided no discussion of his 1907 informants, and the ethnographers who reported the rival claims have provided no evaluation of the controversy. When the problem



is approached from the historical documents the contradictory claims appear to have resulted from late (post-1843) intrusion of the Valley Nisenan and the Foothill Nisenan into largely depopulated Plains Miwok territory, followed by an extensive penetration of Northern Miwok and adjacent Plains Miwok territory by the Foothill Nisenan during the total disruption produced by the Gold Rush. There are suggestions that the problem is further complicated by the possibility that the inhabitants of certain Northern Miwok villages gave up their ancestral language in favor of Foothill Nisenan, but retained the Northern Miwok village names.

The key to the problem of the disputed occupation of the upper Cosumnes is provided by the Indian census which Gatten made for Sutter in 1846. Gatten ascended the Cosumnes River in December, when Sutter knew the villages would be at their peak population for there was little work to be done and the winter rains would restrict movement. After leaving the Olonapatme of Laguna Creek, Gatten visited the following villages in sequence from south to north: Newatchumne, Chuyumkatat, Shalachmushumne, Amuchamne, Yuseumne, Yuleyumne, Yamlocklock, and Lopotsimne, after which he went on to the American River. Merriam located three of these (Lopotsimne, Amuchamne, Chuyumkatat) as Plains Miwok villages. Lopotsimne was placed at the foothill timber line though he indicated that the village might have been Northern Miwok. However, as indicated under tribelet 20, the name appeared in the San Jose baptismal register, Hale listed the tribelet as speaking Plains Miwok<sup>33</sup>, while the small population recorded by Gatten indicates a valley location. Lopotsimne can therefore be considered the easternmost Plains Miwok tribelet on the Cosumnes River and the Plains Miwok claim to the entire valley drainage of the Cosumnes River in aboriginal times has its first firm anchor.

All sources are in agreement that Amuchamne was an important Plains Miwok tribelet which is referred to in the Mission period, the Sutter period, and the American period (see tribelet 19). However, while all ethnographers placed the village at Elk Grove, the historical documents indicate that the tribelet was on the upper Cosumnes River until about 1850. The tribelet center is shown about two miles south of Sloughhouse on the 1847 map offered in defense of the Omochumnes land grant (Sheldon ms.). Such a location agrees with the relative position of Amuchamne in the Gatten census of 1846; there is not enough land between Elk Grove and Cosumne territory to have supported the two tribelet centers found south of Amuchamne by Gatten. In addition, Elk Grove is off the river, and the locality would not have attracted settlement until after the town was founded in 1850. The historical documents thus indicate that Amuchamne was originally situated in the center of the disputed territory, so another support for the Plains Miwok claim to the Cosumnes River drainage is provided.

The third village visited by Gatten which was located by Merriam is Chuyumkatat, and it represents the southernmost of the disputed villages claimed as Valley Nisenan settlements by Gifford's 1915 informant. The name appears in no other historical document, so it seemingly represented a subsidiary village and has to be discussed with the tribelet center Newachumne which was visited by Gatten just before he reached Chuyumkatat. Newachumne has no specific location, but it was listed as a Plains Miwok tribelet by Hale as early as 1841; tribelet status is indicated by the -mne suffix and Sutter's (1939:110, 127) reference to the arrival of the chief at New Helvetia



in 1848. Unless an odd coincidence has been misleading, the needed clue to the location of Newachumne is provided by two Central Miwok villages located on either side of the town of Murphys in the foothills of Calaveras County, namely Newichu and Yungakatok (Kroeber 1925: Pl. 37, nos. 42 and 43, 445). Murphys was one of the famous Gold Rush centers on the upper Stanislaus River, founded by John Murphy in 1848. His father Martin Murphy was one of the first settlers to be given a start by Sutter, and the family was established on the Cosumnes River just south of the station now called McConnell in 1844 (Willis 1913:341). Local Indians were employed, and both men are referred to frequently in the New Helvetia Diary. With the discovery of gold in 1848, John Murphy joined Weber's Stockton Mining Company, and moved into the gold fields with a group of local Indians. Discovering gold on the upper Stanislaus, he established a trading post to supply goods to the Indians who dug gold for him, and he married the sister of the principal chief (Bancroft 1888:74, fn. 14, 76; Gudde 1960:204; Ryan 1850:40; Wood 1948:2-3).<sup>34</sup> In view of the near identity of the Central Miwok villages Newichu and Yungakatok with the Newachumne and "Yumagatock" of Gatten, there can hardly be a doubt that the local Indians which Murphy took to Calaveras County were the two Plains Miwok villages visited about two years earlier by Gatten; the Plains Miwok Indians must have settled down amid the Central Miwok and by 1900 the two villages were considered to be aboriginal Central Miwok. Merriam's placement of Chuyumkatat (Gatten's "Yumagatock") coincides with the archaeological site of Sac-102, located at McConnell, just north of Murphy's 1844 ranch; site Sac-211 is located on the former Murphy ranch and can with little doubt be identified with Newachumne. Such an interpretation agrees with the rare appearance of the Newachumne at New Helvetia, because these Indians would normally have been working for Murphy. The Valley Nisenan claim to Chuyumkatat must therefore be rejected (though the name may be a Valley Nisenan rendering of Yumagatock).

Shalachmushumne, recorded only by Gatten, does not appear in any ethnographic list. It can tentatively be identified with "Ssulmiyamne" in the Mission San Jose baptismal register, but the single baptism in 1834 provides such a weak link that the name recorded by Gatten will be used as the general referent for this tribelet herein. The location between Newachumne and Amuchamne leaves no doubt that a Plains Miwok tribelet is represented, despite the lack of other references.

Returning to the upper reaches of the Cosumnes River, the village of Yuleyumne which Gatten visited in 1846 is a Northern Miwok settlement firmly located at Plymouth in the foothills. Since Yuleyumne appears before Yamlocklock and Lopotsimne, one can infer that Gatten went up Arkansas Creek (the tributary ending at Palama on Map 3), crossed to Little Indian Creek (the tributary ending at Plymouth on Map 3), and arrived at Yuleyumne, after which he descended Little Indian Creek to the Cosumnes River where he recorded the Plains Miwok villages of Yamlocklock and Lopotsimne. Palama was not mentioned.

The remaining village visited by Gatten was Yusumne, and it provides the first concrete evidence of Valley Nisenan intrusion. Yusumne was placed on the American River by Phelps in 1840, was listed as a Valley Nisenan village by Hale in 1841, and is shown on the 1843 Vioget map as situated on the south bank of the American River only six miles east of New Helvetia (this location



is retained on Map 3 herein). However, in 1846 Gatten visited the Yuseumne while ascending the Cosumnes River and the village appears between Amuchamne and the Northern Miwok village of Yuleyumne. Since Gatten knew he was going to go down the American River later, it is reasonable to assume that he did not go from Amuchamne across the plains to the American River, but that Yuseumne was now located in the upper Cosumnes drainage. The same conclusion is indicated by Sutter's (ms. 4:89) reference to the Yuseumne as living on the "Yuseumney" River, 20 miles distant from New Helvetia in 1847.

It thus seems apparent that the Yuseumne Valley Nisenan had moved from the American River to the Cosumnes River between 1843 and 1846. There can be little doubt that Sutter initiated the move, perhaps to speed communication between labor demand at New Helvetia and labor supply in the foothills. Shulule, the Yuseumne chief, appears to have been one of those in charge of securing Indian labor; he was often mentioned as bringing in workers, including Lopotsimne Plains Miwok (the most peripheral valley tribelet on the Cosumnes) as well as Foothill Nisenan (Wapumne, Yalesumne) (Sutter 1939:49, 52, 58, 68). Sutter's need for labor had been constantly expanding while the valley Indian population continually dwindled. It is probable that many of the Foothill Nisenan remained in the valley to work on the Cosumnes River ranches which Sutter sponsored in ever increasing numbers after the mid-40's, and a flour mill was in operation on the upper Cosumnes by 1847. Sutter's dependence on foothill workers was even greater after the sickness of 1847 again reduced the valley population. This sickness began in July and lasted into the fall of 1847. Sutter (1939:59 ff) made almost daily comments on the sick during the summer, and reported important deaths in September and October. The sickness extended into the upper Sacramento Valley as well so all valley villages (including Plains Miwok) were probably affected (Sutter 1939:70-71). Though there was work for 200 during the harvest, only 20 to 25 workers were available on some days (Zollinger 1939:213).

No precise location is available for the resettled village of Yuseumne, other than Gatten's placement between Amuchamne and Yuleyumne or Yamlocklock. The most probable location would be at Sloughhouse on Deer Creek, perhaps at Sac-129 (unexcavated). This location would be 16 miles from New Helvetia (approximating the distance indicated by Sutter), and Deer Creek is the only unnamed watercourse large enough to deserve the label "Yuseumney River." (The major alternative would be at the mouth of the much smaller Arkansas Creek, just west of Yamlocklock, 22 miles from New Helvetia.) Sloughhouse was also the location given by all ethnographers for Yumhui, a name never mentioned by Sutter. Coincidence of location for Yuseumne and Yumhui might have led to the claim that Yumhui was a Valley Nisenan village by Gifford's 1915 informant. However, as discussed below, the strongest associations of Yumhui are with the Foothill Nisenan. Yumhu and Yusu sound too different to be variants of the same name, and it seems more likely that the Yumhui represent an intrusive village of Foothill Nisenan which occupied a site left vacant by the Yuseumne. Shulule, the chief of the Valley Nisenan group, died on September 27, 1847, and the only later reference to the Yuseumne associated them with the Sekumne, suggesting that the village had returned to the American River (abandonment of a village at the death of a chief was a common practice).<sup>35</sup> As indicated below, the only historic reference to the Yumhui appears later in 1847.



All ethnographers placed Yumhui near Sloughhouse, and Merriam's reference to a graveyard knoll allows identification with Sac-129, across the river from the town which was built by Sheldon in 1850. However, the village has been associated with the Plains Miwok, Valley Nisenan, and Foothill Nisenan. If the non-equivalence of Yumhui and Yusemne is accepted, Yumhui was not occupied when Gatten went up the Cosumnes in 1846. Hence Plains Miwok affiliation is unlikely. The only appearance of Yumhui in the historical documents is "Lomas de Yumhui," applied to the low hills southwest of Sloughhouse on the map of the Omochumnes land grant awarded to Sheldon (ms.) in October, 1847 (Bancroft 1888:12). This was one month after the withdrawal of the Valley Nisenan intruders, again assuming that Yusemne is not a variant of Yumhui. The Yumhui occupation of the former Yusemne village site might account for the Valley Nisenan claim to Yumhui. That Yumhui was actually occupied by intrusive Foothill Nisenan is indicated by the absence of historical reference to the name prior to 1847, and the available ethnographic details. Gifford (1927:251) was shown the actual village site (unnamed) at Sloughhouse by a Foothill Nisenan informant. The last remembered fight between Foothill Nisenan and "Miwok" involved Yelok, the Nisenan chief of Yumhui (Beals 1933:367), but the ethnographer split a single episode reported by William Joseph into three parts. Beals identified Yelok's adversary as the father of the present Miwok chief (i.e., the Northern Miwok of Ione), but elsewhere he described the grass bundle disguises used by the "valley people" attacking a "village near Sloughhouse" (Beals 1933:366). As rendered with the vagueness of the past by William Joseph (Udall and Shipley 1966:69-71), the references to the last battle (no. 25), the oat straw disguises (no. 11), and Yelok ("Jelok," nos. 17, 20) duplicate details given by Beals. William Joseph placed this event in the Sutter period. While the men of Wakwakan (unique name) east of Yumhui were working for Sutter, the women were attacked. Sutter ordered seven of his men, together with Yelok of Yumhui and the Yalesumne ("Jales") to pursue the attackers, whom they found five days distant in a village of seven roundhouses, probably "Cakanusuk," the Northern Miwok center at Ione; the ensuing battle here was reported by Beals (1933:367) as another fight unrelated to that near Yumhui. In an 1847 letter, Sutter (ms. 5:91) noted that the "wild" Indians of the foothills were generally at war with the numerous small "tribes" in the valley. While more details would be desirable, it can be suggested that Yumhui was first settled by Foothill Nisenan in 1847 by an offshoot of the Yalesumne then living at Salmon Falls (see below). As already indicated, Sutter was in great need of labor at this time and foothill Indians willing to work for him may have moved closer to the Fort, where they were attacked by Northern Miwok. The site of Yumhui became a Christian cemetery for the towns of Sloughhouse and Cosumne (founded in 1850) so the village could not have remained occupied long after 1850. The villagers probably moved to Michigan Bar (Palamul) and nearby ranches which may have received Nisenan names (Lulimal and Yomit are strong possibilities). However, the name Yumhui remained attached to Sloughhouse as a general referent (cf. Udall and Shipley 1966:139, no. 19).

Palama also has clear Foothill Nisenan associations. Merriam (1907:349; 1960:33) listed this village as Plains Miwok, but he could place it only vaguely as near Michigan Bar and he pointed out that the names of both Palama and Palamul (Michigan Bar itself) were derived from the Foothill Nisenan word for "water oak" or "valley oak". Gifford (1927:252, fn. 52), Beals (1933:399, "Palauma"), and William Joseph (Udall and Shipley 1966:126-129)



recorded this village as Foothill Nisenan and located it at Forest Home in the foothills just east of Michigan Bar (where it is shown on Map 3). Palama belonged to the same Foothill Nisenan dance group as Michigan Bar in the American Period (see below) and, as will be discussed shortly, the recorded chiefs were of the Wapumne tribelet. That the village was not Plains Miwok or occupied in the Sutter period is indicated by the absence of Palama from the Gatten census (he must have passed the village site on his way to Yuleyumne), and the lack of reference to the village in the Sutter documents. It seems most probable that Foothill Nisenan intruders first settled Palama after 1847, and perhaps after 1870 (see Wapumne discussion below).

Gold was discovered at Michigan Bar in 1849; the town mushroomed immediately to achieve a population of 1500 through the 1850's, and it remained an important mining center through the 1890's. Most of the Indian labor used in mining at Michigan Bar was Foothill Nisenan, probably because gold was discovered first at Coloma, in the heart of their territory, other ranchers already controlled the small number of surviving Plains Miwok, and such Foothill Nisenan as the Wapumne, Yalesumne, and Culuma had already been indoctrinated to labor by Sutter. Merriam's data imply that Palamul (Michigan Bar) was distinct from Palama, and Gifford referred repeatedly to Michigan Bar (the native name for the Indian village is never given) as a village contemporaneous with (not the same as) Palama. In the 1870-1890 period remembered in detail by Gifford's Foothill Nisenan informants, Michigan Bar (i.e., Palamul) was affiliated with the foothill villages rather than with those of the American River and was associated with the Wapumne (see below). Many of the dances, including some indigenous Foothill Nisenan forms, which were performed at Michigan Bar were also given at such hill centers as Palama, Latrobe, Folsom, and Auburn (Gifford 1927:231-238). The references to dances and the famous dance leader Yoktco given by Kroeber (1929:268-271) provide evidence that the Amuchamne Plains Miwok belonged to the Valley Nisenan dance group (Pusune, Kadema, Hok) in the 1870's. Neither of these sources indicate any exchange between these two dance groups, which suggests that the aboriginal valley-hill cleavage remained dominant over the Plains Miwok-Valley Nisenan hostility (the latter must have been greatly assuaged by their forced association during the Sutter period). This apparent avoidance provides another indication that Valley Nisenan occupation of the upper Cosumnes was brief and short-lived. Had Yumhui and Palamul been ancient Valley Nisenan settlements, their cultural ties should have been with Pusune and Kadema rather than with the Foothill Nisenan.

More evidence for Foothill Nisenan intrusion is provided by the varied associations recorded for the Wapumne tribelet, which all ethnographers identified as Foothill Nisenan. In 1846 Gatten's route from the Cosumnes River to New Helvetia took him through the following villages, given in sequence: Lopotsimne (on the Cosumnes River), Yalesumne, Wapumne, Kiskey, Sekumne, and Pusune. The last three names are Valley Nisenan villages with firm locations on the north bank of the American River as of 1843 (Vioget ms.) and ethnographically (Kroeber 1925:394, Pl. 37; 1929:252). Gatten's population figures support a valley location (see endnote 33). Yalesumne and Wapumne were unquestioned Foothill Nisenan villages and represent important tribelets in the Sutter documents; however, both have been assigned to a location at Latrobe (among other variable locations) so each must be discussed in detail, beginning with Yalesumne.



In 1840 Phelps (ms.) gave the American River villages in the same sequence as Gatten but in reversed order: Pusune, Sekumne, Yuseumne, Kiskey, Yalesumne. As discussed previously, the Yuseumne had not yet moved to Deer Creek. This early inclusion of Yalesumne with American River (rather than Cosumnes River) villages supports the placement of this settlement near Salmon Falls on the South Fork of the American River (northeast of Yodok at Folsom) as given by Dixon (1905: Pl. 38; accepted by Kroeber 1925:394, Pl. 37, nos. 50, 59). However, Chief Hunchup told Merriam (1960:33; 1966: 113; 1967:369) that Yodok ("Yawdok") was at Salmon Falls and Yalesumne ("Yahli<sup>37</sup>s") was at Latrobe, the latter falling within the Cosumnes River drainage. Since Powers (1877:313) placed Wapumne at Latrobe in the 1870's an attempt will be made to unravel this conflict in terms of the perspective provided by the historical documents.

In the analysis which follows the dates given must often be approximations. No contemporary references to any of the groups dealt with herein have been noted between 1851 and 1870. The Americans merely referred to "Indians" or "Diggers" during the chaotic disruption of the Gold Rush. Stabilization of the greatly reduced native groups was achieved by 1870, and there followed two decades during which village cohesion was maintained by means of nativistic ceremonies. Denied participation in the dominant culture of the towns, the acceptance of a fatalistic sense of hopelessness was eased by alcohol, and as the dance leaders died the communities disintegrated into scattered families making individual attempts at acculturation to western ways. The tragic results are best documented by the autobiographical texts of William Joseph (Uldall and Shipley 1966, esp. texts 48, 59). Note that in-group dissention prompted the resignations of the last chiefs of Auburn and Camino (Beals 1933:360).

The ethnographic data span the period of disintegration--Merriam was able to observe many elements of a functioning culture while Beals could obtain only recollections. The weakly developed native concepts of specific times and events have been aggravated by then-current obsession with the "ethnographic present" on the part of the investigators. In their attempt to describe aboriginal culture, most ethnographers expurgated as much evidence of acculturation as possible, and, in so far as the published record is concerned, they made little effort to follow the history of particular tribelets or villages from their aboriginal location through the Sutter period and the Gold Rush into the contemporary period. Despite recognized conflicts in the data, most ethnographic information is given without reference to time and the frequent exclusive or interchangeable use of modern town names instead of native village names has left many ambiguities in the meager corpus which is available. The year 1850 will be used to mark the disruption of native settlement in the foothills, when thousands of miners invaded the upper American and Cosumnes River drainages in search of gold. The dislocations prompted by Sutter in 1847 were minor in comparison to the influx in the 1850's. Far worse for native continuity was the dispersal which followed the attempted Indian uprising of 1850, which led to punitive attacks in Eldorado County. The many frustrating uncertainties evident in the available native genealogies reflect this decade of total chaos. The year 1870 is a convenient general date to mark the recovery of the native groups from these smashing blows, for dance groups were in full operation by 1872.



Most of Merriam's 1907 information on the upper Cosumnes River villages came from the Foothill Nisenan Chief Hunchup, whom he photographed in front of his roundhouse "between the North and Middle Fork of the Cosumnes River, Eldorado County" in 1904 (Merriam 1955:129, Pl 42b; see c below). Beals (1933:375, 402) placed "Huntcup's" tribelet center at Fairplay, 19 miles east of Latrobe. However, four other sources placed his tribelet center just east of Nashville on East Big Canyon Creek, only eight miles east of Latrobe. Merriam (1966:113, Pl. 6, 7) himself sketched the roundhouse at "Koot-bah" in 1907, and this name is also associated with Hunchup at Telegraph Flat by William Joseph (Uldall and Shipley 1966:137-139); Sam Kessler, a Placerville Nisenan, gave the name as "Komyan" (Littlejohn ms. 1:39) while Mary Hunter, a Northern Miwok, rendered the name as "Kutmate" (Littlejohn ms. 2:34). Hunchup was born ca. 1832 and his statements appear to reflect his own knowledge rather than the failing recollections of his parents. He died at the Sheldon Ranch on the Cosumnes River, southwest of Sloughhouse, in 1907 (Merriam 1966:115).

The following factors suggest that Chief Hunchup's tribelet had been displaced from their aboriginal territory somewhere in the American River drainage and did not take up residence at Kutbah until after 1870.

a. Hunchup did not become chief until after Oct. 1861 when the transcontinental telegraph was completed. When Chief Widuk of Mimenek (Telegraph Flat) died, Hunchup was chosen to move the roundhouse to Kutbah (Uldall and Shipley 1966: 136-137) because the villagers were afraid of the telegraph lines (Littlejohn ms. 2:24). See c below for Hunchup's possible relationship to Widuk.

b. Mary Hunter, a Northern Miwok of Pleasant Valley, claimed Hunchup's tribelet was composed of both Miwok and Nisenan, and placed the linguistic boundary of Northern Miwok north of Pleasant Valley and the Cosumnes drainage (Littlejohn ms. 2:34, 38). Other informants placed Fairplay in Northern Miwok territory (Beals 1933:360, 375) and remembered a battle fought between the Pleasant Valley Miwok (?) and the Placerville Nisenan (Beals 1933:366). Both Powers and Barrett also obtained disputed claims (see Chapter 6). While boundaries were meaningless at this late date, these remembered data imply Nisenan intrusion into the Cosumnes drainage held originally by the Northern Miwok.

c. Hunchup gave Es-nah-kah-mus-sy as the name of his place and band between the North and Middle Forks of the American River (Merriam 1960:33; 1966:113). That this was not a typographical error for the Cosumnes River is indicated by his failure to specify Middle and South Forks which would pertain to Kutbah, his tribelet center. One can suggest that Hunchup was identifying his original ancestral territory. Hunchup has been referred to variously as a "relative," nephew or grandson of Chief Widuk (Uldall and Shipley 1966:137; Littlejohn ms. 2:24); it is also possible that he (or Widuk) was a Nisenan who married into a local Miwok lineage.

d. Of the eight groups named by Hunchup (Merriam 1960:33, 34) six have associations with the American River drainage (Yodok, Tosewin, Pusune, Chapah and Onchoma are uncontested; Yalesumne, placed at Latrobe by Hunchup, is included with American River villages by Phelps in 1840, while Wapumne was at



Latrobe in 1870 according to Powers). Only two of Hunchup's names (Wimesapakan, Palamul) belong in the Cosumnes drainage; the first is a unique name and the second, at Michigan Bar (founded 1849), has 1870-1880 associations with the intrusive Wapumne Nisenan. Hunchup's failure to refer to neighboring Foothill Nisenan (including the Wapumne if Palamul was not considered synonymous) and Northern Miwok groups implies lack of familiarity with the region and a late entrance. The same conclusion is indicated by his omission of the Amuchamne Plains Miwok who moved from the Sheldon Ranch to Elk Grove between 1850 and 1870.

e. Hunchup referred to the people near Folsom as tosewin which probably means "northerners" (cf. tosimen of Beals 1933:409). All other groups are referred to by name, including the distant Pusune Valley Nisenan opposite New Helvetia. This would suggest that Hunchup, then living on the Cosumnes River, was aware that the original inhabitants had been displaced, but was not familiar with the name of the new group. As indicated in endnote 37, there is support for a shift of villages at Folsom, and the movement of Yodok from Folsom to Salmon Falls probably post-dates 1870.

The historical documents leave no question that the Yalesumne and Wapumne were distinct tribelets. In view of the lateness implied by Hunchup's statements and the more definite information available on the Wapumne movement to be given next, it is proposed that the aboriginal location of Yalesumne was near Salmon Falls (ecologically ideal for a tribelet center) and that the tribelet did not move to Latrobe until after the Wapumne had left, probably about 1878. Mining operations had doubtless altered the salmon fishery on the American River by this time. There are no indications of contemporaneous occupation, assumed synonymy, or fault knowledge. That the Yalesumne were in the American drainage as late as 1848 and controlled the site of Coloma and Weber Creek is proven by Sutter's treaty which provided for mining rights, signed by Chief "Pulpuli" (Heizer and Hester 1970: 107-110); Pulpule was also the Yalesumne chief in 1840 (Bancroft 1886:138).

The evidence for Wapumne Nisenan intrusion into Northern and Plains Miwok territory is even firmer. The ethnographers placed Wapumne either near Latrobe or near Ione, both in the Cosumnes River drainage. The historical record indicates that the aboriginal location of this Foothill Nisenan tribelet was in the American drainage prior to 1848, and the tribelet center must have been near Shingle Springs, southwest of Placerville, on the ridge above Dry Creek (a tributary of the American River). Sutter obtained shingles in this region, and his wagon road to the Coloma sawmill passed by Shingle Springs (Sutter 1939:55, 57; Collyer ms.: map following p. 40). On August 13, 1847, Sutter (1939:69) made the specific entry "Savage brought shingles from the Wapoomney country." The location near a spring, on a ridge rather than in the river canyon, was the typical location preferred for village sites by the Foothill Nisenan (Beals 1933:363). Had Wapumne been located at Latrobe in 1846, Gatten should have visited the village immediately after leaving Lopotsimne, yet the fact that he visited Yalesumne first (which also could not have been at Latrobe in 1846) indicates a more northerly location. A similar conclusion is suggested by the confused Phelps's listing of the Wapumne with the Mokelumne River tribelets (see p. 32). It seems probable that Sutter had indicated that the Wapumne lived south of and off the American River, which Phelps misinterpreted to mean a location far to the south. Sutter's road to



Coloma is firmly established, and it is impossible that he would have had shingles made on the upper Mokelumne river.

In an 1862 letter Sutter stated that he had known Chief Tucollie of the Wapumne tribelet for 22 years (Powers 1877:323), which agrees with the 1840 reference by Phelps. Tucollie was probably the father of Hincay, Holla, and Motos, each of whom later became Wapumne chiefs. On June 6, 1847, "Hincay the Wapoomney chief and his brother Holla" brought men to work at New Helvetia (Sutter 1939:48). Prior to the 1850 uprising, the Chiefs Holla and Motos pursued the thieving Owa-musse tribelet into Shenandoah Valley east of Placerville (Uldall and Shipley 1966:65, nos 13-18). "Hincoye," "Matas", "Holloh," and "Boyer" signed the 1851 Treaty for the "Wompumnes" (Royce 1899:786; Uldall and Shipley 1966:127). It is thus clear that this group of brothers formed a cohesive unit which maintained Wapumne identity after the repeated moves which followed 1847. William Joseph claimed his grandfather Holla initiated the first move when three family members were poisoned by eating salt (Uldall and Shipley 1966:149). Joseph did not identify the village, but the salt reference allows identification with Shingle Springs because the village name later associated with this place was Bamon, "salt water" (Littlejohn ms. 1:44-45; Kroeber 1925: Pl. 37, no. 71).

Sometime between 1847 and 1870 the Wapumne moved to Latrobe, where they were visited by Powers (1877:313, 323) in 1872; he collected a list of Foothill Nisenan numbers, probably from Chief Tucollie, then in retirement. Kroeber (1925: Pl. 37, no. 72) probably followed Powers in placing Wapumne at Latrobe. The town of Latrobe was founded as a railroad station in 1864 (Gudde 1960:164), but the Wapumne had probably moved to Latrobe Creek earlier. The Indians in the Placerville region had been scattered after the attempted uprising in 1850 (Anonymous 1850). Mining activities would also have caused disruption; Koloma Charlie was chief at Shingle Springs (Bamon) during the 1870's (Gifford 1927:250, fn. 50). At least some Wapumne appear to have remained at Latrobe until about 1878, but no firm dating is possible.

Nearly all the later ethnographic information on the Wapumne and the extreme Nisenan claims to territory as far south as Lone rest on Beals interpretation of the statements of one informant - William Joseph. Littlejohn was expected to publish the Nisenan ethnogeography, so no details were included to support the map published by Beals (1933: Map 1). Unfortunately, the Littlejohn manuscripts contain no reference to either the Wapumne or William Joseph. Linguistic texts obtained from the latter have been published (Uldall and Shipley 1966), and much autobiographical detail is scattered amid myths and ethnography; however, the Nisenan place names are given in phonemic orthography with grammatical endings and only the American names appear in the translation. William Joseph provided no dates and the short texts were unrelated to each other. Only three relatives were identified by name, and Joseph did not differentiate paternal from maternal relatives; kinship terms were sometimes used in their extended meaning, and no specific reference whatever was made to the Wapumne tribelet. The genealogical chart given by Beals (1933:361) is grossly incomplete but the available data are too contradictory to warrant discussion herein. While several interpretations pertinent to Northern Miwok are possible, the following outline is sufficient for present purposes relative to the Plains Miwok.



Gifford (1927:251, fn. 50) placed the deaths of Chiefs Motos and Hincoi ("father of Helu") in 1880; his "Helu" is the Captain Jim of Beals (1933:361) and the Uncle Helty of William Joseph (Uldall and Shipley 1966:107, no. 4). Hence, prior to 1880, the fraternal Wapumne chiefs had left Latrobe and established themselves in separate villages near Yuleyumne (Plymouth) as shown by Beals (1933:361).

Hincoi ("inkoi") presumably married into the Northern Miwok village of Yuleyumne ("Yule") and became chief. Early ethnographers (Merriam 1907:344; Kroeber 1925: Pl. 37, no. 16; Barrett 1908:346-347) listed Yuleyumne as Northern Miwok and it was visited by Gatten in 1846 at Plymouth, as already discussed. It is possible that Hincoi married the daughter of Chief Pitcu, also assigned to Plymouth by Beals (1933:361).

Motos established the new village of Palama ("Palauma") near Forest Home. Hincoi's son Puya married Motos' daughter and became chief upon Motos' death in 1880 (Uldall and Shipley 1966:127). After shifting between Palama and Palamul (Michigan Bar), Chief Puya moved the roundhouse to Humit which Uldall and Shipley (1966:129, no. 6) identified as the unplaced ghost town Popcorn Hill. Gifford (1927:252, fn. 52) placed "Homit" four miles north of Ione, as the last large village after the whites arrived; a location at the modern Indian Hill seems probable, and the move probably occurred after 1890.

The associations of Chief Holla are confused. According to Beals (1933:361), he retained title to the tribelet name at "Waupumne" which Beals (Map 1) placed northwest of Ione - apparently at the site of Humit which William Joseph associated with the later Chief Puya. It is possible that Holla was chief at Palamul (Michigan Bar) because Chief Puya later shifted between Forest Home and Michigan Bar prior to his move to Humit. The death of Holla is described by William Joseph (Uldall and Shipley 1966:155) but no location is given.

The last chief was Helty ("Helu," Captain Jim), also a son of Hincoi, who married Chief Puya's daughter (Uldall and Shipley 1966:129, no. 7), and was chief of both Humit and Yule (Plymouth) according to Gifford (1927:251, fn. 50). Helty died at Ione but was buried at Humit (Uldall and Shipley 1966:131, nos. 28, 29). A sense of tribelet identity had been maintained, for Gifford (1927:252; fn. 52) was told of the "Wahap" villages of Yule, Palama, and "Homit".

The historical record and William Joseph thus document the progressive southward movement of the Wapumne Hill Nisenan from Shingle Springs in the American River drainage to their final merger with the Northern Miwok at Ione. Beals implied that Ione was in aboriginal Nisenan territory, but William Joseph referred to it as a Miwok center (Uldall and Shipley 1966:149, no. 18), and all other ethnographers located the Northern Miwok tribelet center of Chakanesu ("Chakanusu", etc) at Ione (Powers 1877:314; Merriam 1907:344; Barrett 1908: Map 3; Kroeber 1925: Pl. 37, no. 19; Gifford 1927:219; Uldall and Shipley 1966:121, no. 28, 149, no. 18).

In summary, it is felt that the following points have been demonstrated relative to Plains Miwok-Nisenan occupation of the Cosumnes River drainage.



a. Prior to 1843 the Plains Miwok held the entire valley drainage of the Cosumnes River from its juncture with the Mokelumne River to about the 500 foot contour in the foothills. The Lopotsimne represented the easternmost Plains Miwok tribelet on the Cosumnes River.

b. Between 1843 and 1846 the Yuseumne Valley Nisenan moved from the American River to the upper Cosumnes region, but returned to the American River in 1847.

c. Foothill Nisenan intrusion, stimulated by Sutter and Sheldon, began in 1847 with the settlement of Yumhui on Deer Creek. Following the discovery of gold at Michigan Bar in 1849, and the unsuccessful uprising of 1850, increasing numbers of displaced Foothill Nisenan resettled in the upper Cosumnes drainage. The Foothill Nisenan village of Palamul was founded at Michigan Bar (perhaps by the Wapumne tribelet) in former Plains Miwok territory, and may have absorbed the few survivors of the Lopotsimne tribelet. Foothill Nisenan served as laborers both in the gold fields between Michigan Bar and the foothills, and on the Sheldon Ranch southwest of Sloughhouse. Except for Palamul, available evidence indicates that Wapumne resettlement in established villages remained in the foothills between Latrobe and Indian Hill, where Foothill Nisenan emerged as the dominant language and culture following amalgamation with the native Northern Miwok.

While Plains Miwok territory and the names and general location of the aboriginal tribelets on the Cosumnes River now seem reasonably clear, it has been possible to deal with only four of the nine disputed villages reported by Merriam and Gifford's 1915 Valley Nisenan informant. Chuyumkatat and Lopotsimne can be accepted as Plains Miwok villages, while Yumhui and Palama have definite Foothill Nisenan associations. The five remaining names must remain problematical until more knowledge of Merriam's informants can be obtained. None are referred to in the historical documents, so subsidiary villages are probably represented; absence of the five names from the Gatten census would indicate either abandonment prior to 1846 or intrusive Nisenan settlement after 1850. There is no support for the claim that the villages were actually occupied by Valley Nisenan, but some (notably Chuyumkatat, reported by Gatten as Yumagatock) may well be Valley Nisenan variants for Plains Miwok villages. It seems likely that Merriam interviewed an Amuchamne informant, yet, if so, no satisfactory explanation can be offered as to why the informant remembered the cluster of minor villages on the middle Cosumnes River but forgot the names of the Newachumne and Shalachmushumne tribelet, as well as the original location of the Amuchamne. Since the Amuchamne were still living in their post-Sutter village at Elk Grove, burying their dead across the river at Sac-1, and protecting the cemetery as late as 1912, it is unlikely that intrusive Foothill Nisenan settlement extended south of Sheldon. Archaeological collections from Mayeman (Sac-107), Lowemul (Sac-117), and Sukididi (Sac-113 ?) suggest abandonment after the 1833 plague, so these names have been considered Plains Miwok villages. Lulimal and Yomit can be identified with unexcavated sites, but their proximity to the Sheldon Ranch might indicate settlements occupied by Foothill Nisenan workers after 1850. As already indicated, Chief Hunchup from the Middle Fork of the Cosumnes River died at the Sheldon Ranch in 1907, and Yomit may be confused with the final Foothill Nisenan village of Humit. Since the number of subsidiary villages is clearly incomplete anyway, the following discussion and listing of settlements



will emphasize only the tribelets.

The mission records and Sutter documents together span the period between 1820 (first Cosumnes River baptism) and 1850, and, with the locations provided by Merriam, suggest that eight Plains Miwok tribelets were distributed along the Cosumnes River, Deer Creek, and Laguna Creek in aboriginal times. This number of tribelets seems to be in general agreement with the count of 12 villages provided by Moraga (1957:25) for the Cosumnes River ("Rio San Francisco") in 1808, prior to the 1833 plague. Although Moraga recorded no village names and did not indicate how much of the river was covered, it is probable that the 12 villages were distributed between the mouth of the river and Sloughhouse; he probably went on north to the American River without exploring the hilly section east of Sloughhouse. If so, the Lopotsimne of this eastern section and the Olonapatme of Laguna Creek can be excluded, and the 12 villages assigned to the remaining six tribelets. This would allow two contemporaneous villages per tribelet, and one tribelet center every 3.7 miles, figures which seem to be quite reasonable averages. More than six tribelets would reduce the 12 villages to less than two villages per tribelet, an unlikely situation before the population reduction in 1833.

All four physiographic sections are represented in the Cosumnes drainage, and the distribution of villages was not uniform. As on the Sacramento River, the largest number of tribelets were concentrated at the southern end, with three closely spaced tribelets falling within the Delta Tidal Plain. The largest tribelet center (Cosomne) was situated at the border of the delta marsh and alluvial plain, beside a small lake adjacent to the Deer Creek-Cosumnes River channel. Two tribelets were located in the Victor Plain; the Newachumne lived beside the marshy channel formed by intertwining sloughs of Deer Creek and the Cosumnes River, while the Olonapatme probably held most of Laguna Creek. The three uppermost tribelets were more widely separated in the dry uplands of the Arroyo Seco Pediment.

Historical data are more limited for the Cosumnes River than for the American River, but available evidence suggests that two (perhaps three) cooperative groups may have existed on the Cosumnes River. As indicated in the discussion of the Sacramento River tribelets, Cosomne would appear to have been the dominant tribelet of the Cosumnes group, which also included the Sotolomne and Olonapatme of the Cosumnes drainage, as well as the Ylamne and Gualacomne on the Sacramento River. The Newachumne, Shalachmushumne, Amuchamne, and Lopotsimne may have belonged to this group as well, but more likely represented still another cooperative unit centered among the Amuchamne. However, the Tihuechemne appear to have been affiliated with the Mokelumne group, at least during the post-mission, pre-Sutter interim.

The earliest recorded contact with the Spanish occurred during the 1808 expedition of Moraga, who left no details other than a count of villages (Cook 1960:250; Moraga 1957). The first baptisms were not recorded until 1820, when both the Tihuechemne and Sotolomne appear in the mission register; the Cosomne delayed until 1826. Missionization appears to have proceeded slowly; although one Lopotsimne female (probably an outmarrying wife) was baptized in 1824, the Amuchamne did not yield until 1834, and even the Cosomne did not appear in numbers until after the 1833 plague. With the doubtful exception of the Sotolomne (last recorded baptism in 1828), none of the tribelets were



exhausted of population, and missionization continued until secularization in 1836.

The Spanish waged one campaign against the Cosomne in 1820 to recover stolen horses, and the Mexicans attacked the same tribelet in 1826 to punish the murder of neophytes. The Cosomne were allied with the Ylamne and Siusumne in support of the Mexican campaign against the Ochejamne and Junizumne in 1830.

All of the missionized tribelets reappeared at least briefly in the later documents, so most of the survivors probably returned to the Cosomnes River after mission secularization in 1836. The Tihuechemne joined the Mokelumne group to raid Sonoma Valley just before the arrival of Sutter, but this tribelet appears to have lost its identity prior to 1840.

The Cosomne (supported by the Sotolomne) appear to have been leaders in two attempts to force Sutter to withdraw, in 1840 and 1841. Both attempts failed, and the two tribelets appear to have moved to New Helvetia by 1844. The Sotolomne are not referred to after 1841, but the Cosomne remained an important and cohesive group until the Gold Rush; many individuals of this tribelet became trusted and faithful employees of Sutter. The five remaining tribelets, only slightly missionized, continued to occupy their native territory until the Gold Rush; village inhabitants visited New Helvetia only when needed as laborers or when in need of supplies. Shortly after 1843 Sutter resettled the Yuseumne Valley Nisenan on the upper Cosumnes River where they remained until the death of their chief in 1847, when the group appears to have returned to the American River. The Murphy family settled on the Cosumnes River in 1844 and employed the local Newachumne inhabitants, with the consent and aid of Sutter. By 1845 a favored band of Muqueleme had resettled on the Cosumnes, and became ardent farmers. In 1847 Sheldon obtained the Omochemne land grant and employed the Amuchamne as laborers; Shalachmushumne had been abandoned within the past year. It was also in 1847 that Sutter became annoyed at the excessive ceremonies sponsored by the Cosomne living near New Helvetia; after he burned their dance house, their request to move the village to the upper Cosumnes River was granted and they apparently resettled near the modern town of Cosumne. The Yumhui Foothill Nisenan probably occupied the recently abandoned site of Yuseumne (later Sloughhouse) in the same year.

With the discovery of gold in 1848, Sutter and many other settlers made periodic trips into the foothills, using Plains Miwok and other Indians as laborers to mine gold. It would appear that John Murphy took most of the Newachumne tribelet (including the subsidiary village of Chuyumkatat) with him, and resettled them in Calaveras County where these Plains Miwok ultimately amalgamated with the local Central Miwok. It seems probable that the most faithful Plains Miwok living at New Helvetia followed Sutter to his retreat on the Feather River in 1850; others lost their identity in the Valley Nisenan villages which remained on the outskirts of the new city of Sacramento, the Foothill Nisenan village of Palamul at Michigan Bar, or in the gold fields. The only Plains Miwok tribelet on the Cosumnes River which survived the Gold Rush as an organized group was the Amuchamne. Sometime after Elk Grove was founded in 1850 this tribelet center was shifted from the



upper river to the town, and life was sufficiently stable to allow the performance of ceremonial dances in the 1870's. A few descendants still protected the nearby cemetery as late as 1912.

The names of perhaps eight to 12 subsidiary villages (one was probably a camp site) have been recorded for the Cosumnes River. As already indicated, many are controversial and few details other than location are available as to their affiliation or significance. These minor villages (underlined on Map 3) have been rather arbitrarily assigned to tribelets as follows: Chapaes is listed under Tihuechemne; Talatui is discussed under Sotolomne; Supu has been associated with Cosomne; the four names included by Kakampi and Lowemul are assigned to the Newachumne; Sukididi, Yu, Yomit, and Lulimal are mentioned under Shalachmushumne; Yamlocklock is included with Lopotsimne. The only basis for such grouping (except for Chuyumkatat) is proximity and the two mile gaps which separate Supu and Kakampi as well as Lowemul and Sukididi (which might represent tribelet boundaries). Chuyumkatat and Yamlocklock appear to have been the only Plains Miwok subsidiary villages occupied on the Cosumnes River after the 1833 plague.

Specific data pertinent to the eight Cosumnes River tribelets will now be given in the same format as was used for the Sacramento River tribelets.

### 13. TIHUECHEMNE

Location: The range of baptismal dates for Tihuechemne supports identification with the ethnographic "Tukui", placed on the west side of the Cosumnes River, two miles north of Thornton (Merriam 1907:349, "Too-koo-e"; 1967:370). Coincidence of location suggests identification with Sac-144 (unexcavated). "Tukui" was placed about two miles farther north by Kroeber (1925: Pl. 37, no. 10). Such a location would conflict with that of Sotolomne (not given by Kroeber).

Marriage: Of six marriages outside the tribelet, one wife was obtained from the Amuchamne, two women married Seuamne men, one woman had a Machemne husband, and two women were married to men of the distant Laquisimas Yokuts tribelet (Stanislaus River). Marriage ties thus support inclusion of the Tihuechemne with the Lower Mokelumne group of cooperating tribelets.

Missionization: In process 1820-1836, with 35 baptisms, mostly in 1829. The series of variants (Tiguechimne, Tiguichme, Toguicomne) provide the connecting link between the mission period Tihuechemne and the "Too-koo-e" of Merriam (Kroeber's "Tukui").

References: Vallejo (ms. 1:65) included the "Tiguecheck" among the Mokelumne River tribelets which raided Sonoma Valley in 1838 (see tribelet 23). Both Merriam (1907) and Kroeber (1925) locate the tribelet center.

Comment: The rare reference to this group suggests that the Tihuechemne were a minor Plains Miwok tribelet. Marriage ties and the Vallejo reference support inclusion of this tribelet with the Mokelumne cooperative group. Absence of the name in the Sutter documents would indicate extinction of the tribelet prior to 1840. Chapaes was probably a subsidiary village of this tribelet.



Chapaes: Probably a subsidiary village of the Tihuechemne in view of Merriam's (1907) location of "Chah-woh" only one-quarter mile south of Tihuechemne on the west side of the Cosumnes River ("Chahwoo" of Merriam 1967:370). This location would agree with the unexcavated site Sac-138. Seven individuals were baptized in 1827 and 1834 but no variant bears the ~~-one~~ suffix indicative of tribelet status. Vallejo listed the "Chapayasek" with the Mokelumne River groups which raided Sonoma Valley in 1838 (see tribelet 23). Consistent spelling differences, different baptismal dates, and different missions indicate that Chapaes is not a variant of the Yokuts Chapaesemne.

#### 14. SOTOLOMNE

Location: Merriam (1907) located "So-lo-lo" as seven miles south of Elk Grove without specifying which side of the river was represented. The late protohistoric site Sac-168 is situated at the proper distance due south of Elk Grove; if this was Sotolomne, the village was on the west bank of the Cosumnes River, 2.25 miles southeast of Bruceville. Several unexcavated sites are in the immediate vicinity.

Marriage: One woman was married to a Laquisimas Yokuts man.

Missionization: In process between 1820-1834, with 18 baptisms, mostly in 1828. Variants listed separately by Merriam (1955) as "Sonolomne" and "Tzotolomne" appear to represent the same tribelet.

References: Listed with other Plains Miwok tribelets by Phelps in 1840. In March, 1841, the Sotolomne joined the Cosomne as the instigators of an uprising against Sutter, but the disturbance was soon quelled (Sutter ms. 1:90). Hale included the tribelet with others speaking the Plains Miwok language in 1841. Listed by Taylor. The death of one "Sololomney" boy was recorded in 1847 (Sutter 1939:74). Referred to as a village of the "Mokozumne tribe" by Merriam (1907).

Comment: The Sotolomne appear to have been a minor tribelet, associated with the Cosumnes group. Absence of group visits in the New Helvetia Diary would indicate extinction as an organized group prior to 1845. Talatui might have been a subsidiary village.

Talatui: The only location available for this village is the statement by Hale (1846:630-631) that Dana obtained the vocabulary, published as representative of the Plains Miwok tribelets, from this "tribe" living on the Cosumnes River. This vocabulary remained the only published example of Plains Miwok language until 1906, and has historical importance because of its use in early linguistic studies by Latham (1854, 1856, 1860), Gatschet (1877) and Powell (1891). Talatui does not appear in the mission registers, and neither Merriam nor Kroeber obtained any recollection of the name. A subsidiary village therefore seems indicated. It is probable that Dana obtained the vocabulary at New Helvetia from a former neophyte of one of the southern missionized tribelets. Since the vocabulary seems to have a slightly closer correspondence with Muqueleme than with Cosomne, another suggestion of a southern location is provided. Since both the Tihuechemne and Cosomne have other subsidiary villages tentatively assigned to them, Talatui has been



placed with the Sotolomne tribelet.

#### 15. OLONAPATME

Location: Baptismal dates and placement in the Gatten census support identification with the "Ko-lo-ne" of Merriam (1907), who located the village "on the plain" southeast of the Cosumnes River. Laguna Creek would provide the only possible habitat for a distinct tribelet, and the tribelet center may have been near the marshy tract formed by the juncture of Laguna and Skunk Creeks, due north of Twin Cities.

Marriage: Cross-cousin marriage arrangements with the Ylamne and Gualacomne (both on the Sacramento River) were probably formalized. Of 11 marriages outside the tribelet, three men had married Ylamne wives, and six women had Ylamne husbands; one man and one woman had Gualacomne spouses. The absence of baptized children from Olonapatme and the higher number of women married to Ylamne men suggest that most of these Olonapatme neophytes had gone to Mission San Jose from Ylamne rather than from their native village.

Missionization: Just beginning in 1834-1835, with 14 baptisms, mostly in 1834 (see marriage). One "Olonochombre" baptized in 1836 at Mission Santa Clara probably represents the same tribelet. Mission Santa Clara appears to have baptized occasional Indians after secularization became effective at Mission San Jose during 1836. One Sakayakumne (Mokelumne River) was baptized as late as 1839 at Mission Santa Clara.

References: In 1846 Gatten (Heizer and Hester 1970:96) visited "Olonutchamne" between the Locolomne (Mokelumne River) and the Newachumne (Cosumnes River), and recorded a population of 54 people. The only additional reference to the group is the "Ko-lo-ne" of Merriam (1907).

Comment: A small tribelet is indicated, linked by marriage to the Cosumnes group. Since the tribelet was not referred to by Phelps, Hale, or Sutter (1939), the inhabitants appear to have remained in their native territory until the Gold Rush, after which they lost their identity in the gold fields or were absorbed by the Amuchamne who settled at Elk Grove.

#### 16. COSOMNE

Location: Shown on the west bank of the lower Cosumnes River on the 1824 Map. Baptismal dates and the archaeological record (see Comment below) support identification with Sac-6, located 1.5 miles east of Bruceville. Kroeber (1925) placed "Mokosumni" on the east bank of the Cosumnes River at the mouth of Laguna Creek; as discussed previously, this variant does not appear in the pre-Gold Rush documents, and, since no archaeological site exists at the "Mokosumni" location, Kroeber's placement probably represents faulty information or an approximation supplied by a Valley Nisenan informant.

Marriage: By 1834 one man had a Junizumne wife, and two women were married to Muqueleme men.

Missionization: In process between 1826-1836, with 84 baptisms, mostly in 1834.



References: The Cosomne were attacked by the Spanish in 1820, and the latter recovered 70 horses (Cook 1962:196). This group is the only Cosumnes River tribelet shown on the 1824 Map. Conflict with the Mexicans arose in 1826 when the Cosomne killed some visiting neophytes; though the punitive attack was repulsed, the village was burned, 41 Indians were killed, and 44 were taken prisoner (Cook 1962:167-168; Beechey 1831:428). In 1830 the Cosomne allied themselves with the Ylamne and Siusumne in support of the Mexicans when the latter fought the Junizumne and Ochejamne to secure the release of fugitive neophytes (Cook 1962:187; see tribelet 6).

During the spring of 1840 the Cosomne led the Cosumnes River tribelets in an attempted uprising against Sutter; the latter surprised them on the river, killed 30, and reestablished peace with a treaty (Sutter 1932:8-9). The shift of the missionized inhabitants to New Helvetia began by July, 1840 (Phelps). Cosomne neophytes still living near Mission San Jose participated in a raid during the late summer of 1840 on the Foothill Nisenan camp of Yalesumne workers, attempting to steal women and children for the coastal slave trade; Sutter (ms. 1:44-46) rescued the victims and executed seven Cosomne. On March 31, 1841, Sutter again quelled a threatened uprising which, though instigated by the Cosomne and Sotolomne, included many former residents of the Sacramento River tribelets then living at New Helvetia (Sutter 1932:10; ms. 2:90). By 1841 Sutter had named the Cosumnes River after the major tribelet on its banks (the river appears as the "Cosmenes" on the 1841 Map (Wilkes 1844)). The Cosomne were listed as a Plains Miwok tribelet by Hale in 1841. By 1844 the tribelet was no longer living on the river, but had shifted to New Helvetia (Fremont 1848:16). The Gatten census indicates only 59 survivors in 1846. On March 13, 1848, Sutter burned the dance house of the Cosomne village near New Helvetia, apparently because the frequency of dances was such that many Indians were too tired to work (Sutter 1939:123; note that a dance had been held on March 12). On March 20, Sutter agreed to the shift of the Cosomne village from the American River to the upper Cosumnes River, a move which was accomplished the next day (Sutter 1939:124). The village was moved to the Sheep Corral, which was probably near the 1850 town of Cosumne, one mile east of Sloughhouse. The last contemporary reference to the tribelet is that of Prince Paul, who collected a short vocabulary from a Cosomne in 1850 (Clark 1959:292, 296).

The Cosomne appear in the list of tribelets obtained by Taylor from Sutter. Merriam (1907) assigned the entire valley drainage of the Cosumnes River and a section of the Sacramento River (corresponding to Gualacomne and Chupumne territory) to the "Mokozumne tribe" and listed 16 villages. However, he did not include Cosomne or "Mokozumne" as a village, and, as already discussed, his list included at least four independent tribelets and two or more Foothill Nisenan villages (cf. Merriam 1967:369-370). As indicated under Location above, there is no support for Kroeber's (1925: Pl. 37, no. 11) placement of "Mokosumni" at the mouth of Laguna Creek.

Confusion: Schenck (1926) identified the "Cosumnes" with the "Unsumnes", but documents of the Mission period indicate that the latter were the distinct Junizumne (see tribelet 7).

Comment: The importance of the Cosomne during the Mission and Sutter periods would indicate that this was the largest tribelet on the Cosumnes



River. The brief associations recorded for the 1830 and 1841 battles, as well as the marriage linkage between Ylamne and Olonapatme (on either side of the Cosomne), support the inference that the Cosomne were the leaders of the Cosumnes cooperative group.

Identification of the tribelet center with Sac-6 is supported by the archaeological record. This site is the largest mound within the Cosumnes district, and excavations have yielded the largest artifact collection from any site in the Great Valley (Schenck and Dawson 1929, site 6). In addition to continuous occupation during the last two subphases of the prehistoric period and the two protohistoric subphases, the glass beads from Sac-6 indicate habitation through the Mission period into the early Sutter period. It is the only large site yet excavated on the Cosumnes River which yielded evidence of abandonment during the early Sutter period, and thus fulfills Fremont's statement that the tribelet was no longer on the river in 1844. The site location beside a small lake at the margin of both the delta marshland and the dry plains is ideally suited to support the large population indicated by the size of the mound and the importance of the tribelet center. This location agrees with the placement of Cosomne on the 1824 Map, while the baptismal dates indicate that the tribelet was more distant from Mission San Jose than the Tihuechemne or Sotolomne. Early abandonment of the original tribelet center, with later occupation of two cohesive villages on the American and upper Cosumnes Rivers during the late Sutter period, presumably accounts for the failure of ethnographers to obtain a correct location for the aboriginal tribelet center.

The 1826 battle, late date of the first baptism, and small number of baptisms (26) prior to the 1833 plague indicate that the Cosomne resisted missionization. Despite severe population reduction during the 1833 malaria epidemic, the tribelet twice led the opposition to Sutter, in 1840 and 1841. When the second uprising failed, resistance along the entire Cosumnes appears to have ceased and the Cosomne and Sotolomne moved to New Helvetia. Despite the fact that many members of the tribelet became trusted employees of Sutter, and others were rented out to other settlers sponsored by Sutter, the Cosomne village near New Helvetia remained a cohesive unit. The cryptic references to dances in the New Helvetia Diary imply that the village inhabitants maintained their aboriginal leadership in the performance of ceremonies. Although enough members survived the 1847 sickness to move their village to the upper Cosumnes River in 1848, the tribelet appears to have suffered extinction as an organized group during the Gold Rush. The last contemporary reference is 1850.

It may be noted that Powers (1877:347) derived the Cosumnes place name from the Miwok word for "salmon", but the similarity would apply only to the Southern and Central Miwok ("salmon" is kossum, kossumu, respectively); this fish is called kukunu in Northern Miwok and tukun in Plains Miwok (Barrett 1908:366). If the village name and Southern Miwok word do derive from the same root, the persistence of a place name after a linguistic change would seem indicated, but this problem must be left for specialists in Penutian languages. Radiocarbon dates suggest that Sac-6 (Cosomne) was first occupied about A.D. 1200.

It is possible that Supu was a subsidiary village of the Cosomne



tribelet.

Supu: Merriam (1907; 1967:370) placed "Soo-poo" on the northwest side of the Cosumnes River, three miles below Chuyumkatat (i.e., 1.75 miles east northeast of Bruceville). Kroeber (1925: Pl. 37, no. 9) placed the village about two miles upstream. There is no archaeological site at Kroeber's location, but Merriam's placement would coincide with a cluster of four sites (none excavated), just one-quarter mile across the lake from Sac-6. A subsidiary village of the Cosumne, abandoned after the 1833 plague, could be suggested from Merriam's data.

In view of the similarity between Supu and the Musupumne tribelet, another definite possibility is that the ethnographer's informants had heard of the Musupumne, but placed them in the wrong location. Neither the 1824 Map nor the baptismal dates support a location of the Musupumne on the Cosumnes River, and the absence of both Supu and Musupumne from the Sutter documents does not support post-mission resettlement. Knowledge of the informants would clarify the problem.

#### 17. NEWACHUMNE

Location: As discussed in the introduction to the present Cosumnes River section, the adjacent location of Newachumne and Chuyumkatat ("Yumagatock") in the Gatten census relative to the Murphy ranch of 1844 and the similar association of the Central Miwok villages of Newichu and Yungakatok with the town of Murphys (founded 1848) support the identification of Newachumne with the unexcavated Sac-211 (see Comment below). The tribelet center can therefore be placed on the northwest bank of the Cosumnes River, one-quarter mile south of the railroad station of McConnell.

Missionization: The tribelet cannot be identified in the mission registers. Resistance on the part of the Cosumne appears to have shielded the upper Cosumnes tribelet until after the 1833 plague.

References: First mentioned in 1841 when Hale included the group with Plains Miwok speakers. Gatten visited the village in 1846, between the Olonapatme and Chuyumkatat, and recorded a population of 61 persons. Tribelet status is indicated by references to the chief (Pachatu) in 1847 (Sutter 1939:75). The Central Miwok village of Newichu, southwest of Murphys in Calaveras County, was probably founded in 1848 by members of this Plains Miwok tribelet taken into the gold fields by John Murphy (Kroeber 1925: Pl. 37, no. 42; Willis 1913:341; endnote 34).

Comment: A small tribelet which resisted missionization and was depleted by the 1833 plague would appear to be represented. Since Phelps did not mention the group, members of the tribelet perhaps refused to work for Sutter until after the 1841 uprising. The inhabitants remained in their native village, and after 1844 the Newachumne represented the southernmost occupied village on the Cosumnes River. During this same year Martin Murphy and his son John built their ranch house beside the Newachumne village and employed tribelet members as laborers, with the sponsorship of Sutter. After the discovery of gold at Coloma in 1848, John Murphy used Indian labor in mining operations on Weber Creek (Placer County). After September of the same year



John Murphy appears to have transported the Newachumne village, and its subsidiary settlement of Chuyumkatat, to the upper Stanislaus River in Calaveras County. He soon established Murphys Camp as a trading post, providing food and trade goods for his Indian laborers in exchange for gold. These displaced Plains Miwok appear to have amalgamated with the local Central Miwok, and by 1900 their descendants apparently considered themselves to be indigenous residents.

The isolation of four closely spaced villages by gaps of two and three miles of nameless territory to the south and north suggest that Kakampi, Chuyumkatat, Mayeman, and Lowemul may have been subsidiary settlements of the Newachumne.

Kakampi: Merriam (1907; 1967:370) located this village on the northwest side of the Cosumnes River, one-half mile below Chuyumkatat (i.e., McConnell). Since there are two channels of the river in this vicinity this placement may refer to Sac-98 (unexcavated site one-half mile southwest of McConnell on east bank of northernmost channel), or perhaps the protohistoric site Sac-95 (on northwest bank of southern channel, one mile due south of McConnell). There are no other references to the name, so the village was probably abandoned after the 1833 plague.

Chuyumkatat: This village was placed on the northwest side of the Cosumnes River, one mile below Mayeman by Merriam (1907; 1967:370). Such a location would coincide with the unexcavated site Sac-102, at McConnell. Kroeber's (1925: Pl. 37, no. 7) location one mile to the north conflicts with the location of Lowemul. Chuyumkatat is the southernmost of the villages with disputed affiliation. As indicated in the introduction to this section, Gatten established "Yumgatoek" as a Plains Miwok village, but Chuyumkatat may be the Valley Nisenan rendering of this Miwok name. Neither Mission period documents nor personal names support Schenck's (1926:141) suggestion that the Cuyens Yokuts were actually Chuyumkatat Miwok visiting the San Joaquin River. Gatten (Heizer and Hester 1970:96) found 36 inhabitants still living in the village in 1846, recording the name as "Yumagatoek". As already discussed, it is probable that John Murphy took these inhabitants to the gold fields of the upper Stanislaus River after September, 1848, where they settled in the village of Yungakatok, northeast of Murphy's (Kroeber 1925: Pl. 37, no. 43; Merriam 1907:345). By 1900 these Plains Miwok had amalgamated with their new Central Miwok neighbors, but the village name persisted.

Mayeman: Both Merriam (1907; 1967:370) and Kroeber (1925) placed this village on the southeast side of the Cosumnes River, four miles southeast of Elk Grove. This location coincides with the location of Sac-107. The only non-aboriginal artifacts from this site are glass beads of the late Mission period, so abandonment after the 1833 plague would be indicated. There is no support for Valley Nisenan occupation of the site, but the name may be a Valley Nisenan rendering. The mission documents indicate that the Mayemes Yokuts were quite distinct from Mayeman and Schenck's (1926:141) interpretation of the former as transient Miwok on the San Joaquin River is unacceptable.

Lowemul: Merriam (1907; 1967:370) placed this village on the northwest bank of the Cosumnes River, opposite Mayeman. This location coincides with



Sac-117, glass beads from which would indicate abandonment after the 1833 plague. Kroeber's placement of Chuyumkatat (occupied in the Sutter period) in this location does not agree with the archaeological record.

#### 18. SHALACHMUSHUMNE

Location: Gatten visited this tribelet center in 1846 between Chuyumkatat and Amuchamne. Glass beads of the late Sutter period found at Sac-120 suggest that this site may represent Shalachmushumne. If so, the village was on the northwest side of the Cosumnes River, 1.5 miles northeast of Wilton.

Missionization: A single baptism in 1834 from "Ssulmiyamne" may represent this tribelet.

References: In 1846 Gatten recorded a population of 50 persons for this village.

Comment: A very small tribelet would seem indicated by the rare appearance of this group in the historical documents. Tribelet members appear to have resisted missionization and were protected by similar resistance on the part of the Cosumne and Newachumne to the south. The small number who survived the 1833 plague may also have refused to work for Sutter, for the tribelet does not appear in any post-mission document except the Gatten census. Since Gatten found the village occupied in 1846, the "Rancheria Vieja" which appears on the 1847 map of Sheldon's (ms.) Omochumne land grant must represent Shalachmushumne in an abandoned state. The inhabitants had probable joined the Amuchamne just to the north early in 1847.

It seems probable that Sukididi was a subsidiary village of the Shalachmushumne, while Yu may have been a camp site. Lulimal and Yomit are problematical and could represent subsidiary villages abandoned after the 1833 plague, or intrusive Foothill Nisenan settlements occupied by workers on the Sheldon ranch after 1850. None of the four names appear in the historical record.

Sukididi: Both Merriam (1907; 1967:370) and Kroeber (1925) placed this village on the southeast side of the Cosumnes River, 1.5 miles south of Yomit (the latter was at Wilton). The only archaeological site on this side of the river between Wilton and Sac-107 (Mayeman) is the unexcavated Sac-207, but it would be two miles south of Yomit. The protohistoric (and probably early historic) site Sac-113 is the proper distance south of Yomit, but is on the northwest side of the river. The surface midden of Sac-207 lacks the loose, friable appearance of near-historic sites, so Sac-113 seems the most likely contender. Since there was little to attract late Nisenan resettlement in this district, the village was probably abandoned after the 1833 plague. The three mile gap between Sukididi and Lowemul suggests affiliation with the Shalachmushumne tribelet, though the name may be a Valley Nisenan rendering.

Yu: Merriam (1907) is the only source which refers to this village, placed vaguely as a little northeast of Elk Grove. A location in the dry uplands, off the river is implied. Since no archaeological sites have yet been reported in this waterless region, a spring camp site is suggested.



There is nothing in the region to attract late resettlement so the name has been associated with the nearby Shalachmushumne tribelet.

(Lulimal): Probably an intrusive Foothill Nisenan village. Both Merriam (1907; 1967:370) and Kroeber (1925) placed this village on the northwest bank of Deer Creek, near the Sheldon barn, or not quite one mile east of the town of Sheldon. This location coincides with Sac-114, a late but unexcavated mound. The size of the site and surface artifacts indicate aboriginal occupation by the Plains Miwok, which would support identification of Lulimal as a Plains Miwok village. However, the name could also refer to late resettlement of Foothill Nisenan laborers on the Sheldon ranch, or represent a Valley Nisenan rendering of a Miwok village name. The Miwok inhabitants presumably abandoned the village site after the 1833 plague, but knowledge of Merriam's informant would be needed to evaluate the significance of the name.

(Yomit): Probably an intrusive Foothill Nisenan village. Merriam (1907; 1967:370) and Kroeber (1925) placed this village on the east bank of the Cosumnes River, opposite Lulimal and the Sheldon ranch. This location would coincide with the unexcavated Sac-115 at the town of Wilton. The same three possibilities exist as for Lulimal: the name could refer to a Plains Miwok village abandoned after the 1833 plague, it could be the Valley Nisenan rendering of a Miwok village, or it could refer to the post-1850 village occupied by Foothill Nisenan workers on the Sheldon or Wilton ranches.

The latter possibility seems that most likely on the basis of the meager evidence available. The archaeological site appears to be quite shallow. Wilton settled on the Cosumnes River in 1887 and probably employed Nisenan labor just as the Sheldon family continued to do as late as 1907. Residents of the modern Wilton Reservation (purchased in 1914) consider themselves to be Nisenan. Note that another Foothill Nisenan Yomit was located at Nashville (Uldall and Shipley 1966:149, no. 19; rendered as "Yeomet" by Gudde 1975).

## 19. AMUCHAMNE

Location: Though located at Elk Grove during the early American period, the aboriginal location of Amuchamne was on the west side of the upper Cosumnes River according to the Sheldon map and the Gatten census. The Sheldon map of 1847 is too distorted to allow a precise placement, but the village of "Omuchumnes" is shown a short distance south of Sloughhouse at the sharp bend of the river. The tribelet center was visited by Gatten in 1846 just before he reached the intrusive Valley Nisenan village of Yuseumne, located at or near Sloughhouse. The long-occupied Sac-126 can be tentatively identified as the tribelet center; available glass beads represent only Mission period types, but the artifact collection from this site is no longer complete, and the test trenches may have missed the Sutter period cemetery.

Marriage: One man had a Tihuechemne wife.

Missionization: Just beginning in 1834-1835, with about seven baptisms. Merriam (1955) listed this Cosumnes River tribelet with the distinct Machechemne of the Mokelumne River, giving a combined total of 13 baptisms. Both names appear an equal number of times beginning in 1834, and both tribelets were about the same distance from Mission San Jose, so seven neophytes have been



assigned to the Amuchamne and six to the Machehne.

References: Listed by Phelps in 1840. Referred to as Plains Miwok by Hale in 1841. Gatten visited the village in 1846 and recorded a population of 27 inhabitants. The occupied village provided the name for the "Omochumnes" land grant obtained by Sheldon in 1847. Taylor obtained the name from Sutter. Both Merriam (1907) and Kroeber (1925) placed the village ("Umucha") at Elk Grove, and dances were still performed at this new location during the 1870's (Kroeber 1929:259. 272).

Comment: A major Plains Miwok tribelet is represented, perhaps second only to the Cosomne in size and importance on the Cosumnes River. The absence or rare mention of the Amuchamne, Newachumne, Shalachmushumne, and Lopotsimne in the Mission period documents and the New Helvetia Diary suggests that there may have been a Pediment group of cooperating tribelets which resisted foreign contacts; if so, the Amuchamne were probably the leading group. The Amuchamne were the most peripheral tribelet to provide more than one neophyte at Mission San Jose (the tribelet center was about 86 miles from the mission, while the Machehne on the Mokelumne River were about 82 miles distant). The population was depleted by the 1833 plague prior to the first baptism, and the village probably remained a conservative center during the Sutter period.

Sutter was aware of the group by 1840, but the absence of the name in the New Helvetia Diary suggests that few Amuchamne worked for him. In view of the small population (27) recorded for the Amuchamne village in 1846, and the abandoned village shown south of the Amuchamne on the Sheldon map of 1847, it is possible that the Shalachmushumne moved to the Amuchamne village in order to strengthen resistance to the Nisenan intrusion at Yumhui in 1847. The fact that Sheldon relied on Foothill Nisenan labor suggests that he had little more success than Sutter in getting the Amuchamne to work for him. Since this tribelet was the only organized Cosumnes River village to survive the Gold Rush it is doubtful that many inhabitants were taken to the gold fields.

Sometime between 1850 and 1870 the Amuchamne moved their village to the outskirts of Elk Grove (founded 1850), probably to remove themselves from proximity to the influx of Foothill Nisenan living at Palamul after the discovery of gold at Michigan Bar in 1849. Abandonment of the river may also have been prompted by Sheldon's insistence that they work, or because of his attempt to dam the Cosumnes River above Sloughhouse in 1856 or 1857 (Willis 1913:332).<sup>38</sup> By 1870 a dance house had been built at Elk Grove, and Amuchamne appears to have been a primary Plains Miwok dance center, exchanging dances with the Valley Nisenan villages near Sacramento, but not with the Foothill Nisenan of Michigan Bar (Kroeber 1929:268-272).<sup>39</sup>

In 1912 Dawson removed six burials from Sac-1, four miles southeast of Elk Grove on the east side of the Cosumnes River (between Chuyumkatat and Mayeman); he made no further excavations after being informed by local Indians that they had relatives buried in the site.<sup>40</sup> Glass bead types and remains of clothing place these burials in the full American period so it is reasonable to infer that Sac-1 was used as the cemetery for the Amuchamne village at Elk Grove. No archaeological site has yet been located at Elk Grove, and it is probable that the town citizens insisted that no wailing funeral be held near the town. Sac-1 was probably occupied in protohistoric



times by members of the Newachumne tribelet but neither Merriam nor Kroeber placed any village name east of the river in this vicinity, and the Newachumne tribelet had been removed to the foothills in 1848 by Murphy. It seems likely that some resident of the resettled Amuchamne, related in some way to the former Newachumne, selected Sac-1 as a cemetery because of its out-of-the-way location; the former Newahcumne tribelet center (Sac-211) had been occupied by McConnell since 1855 and the former villages of Chuyumkatat and Kakampi were on or near the main road to Stockton. It would appear that cultural disintegration had begun by 1890, and the descendants of the Amuchamne and other Miwok living at Elk Grove became dispersed as laborers on the numerous ranches which lined the Cosumnes River.

## 20. LOPOTSIMNE

Location: Merriam (1907) placed "Lo-pah-tah-tah" on the upper Cosumnes River, near the timber line of the foothills. The fact that Gatten visited "Lapototot" after the Northern Miwok village of Yuleyumne also indicates an extreme eastern location for the tribelet center. As already discussed, the low population recorded by Gatten in 1846 and the inclusion of the "Lopotatimnes" with Plains Miwok speakers by Hale in 1841 support Plains Miwok affiliation for this tribelet. No archaeological survey of this region has been completed, so the tribelet center has merely been placed approximately at the eastern edge of Plains Miwok territory.

Missionization: The single female from Lopotsimne, baptized in 1824, was probably a wife living in a village closer to Mission San Jose (probably Tihuechemne or Ylamne in view of the early date).

References: Listed as Plains Miwok by Hale in 1841. In 1846 Gatten recorded a population of 74 persons. Workers were brought to New Helvetia in 1847 (Sutter 1939:49. 60). Merriam (1907) was the only ethnographer to record the name.

Comment: A small, relatively isolated tribelet is indicated by the rare mention of the group. The narrower valley and hilly terrain of the upland region above the great bend which turns the flow of the Cosumnes River from west to southwest suggest that Lopotsimne territory may have included all the valley drainage of the river east of Sloughhouse. Despite the fact that both Lopotsimne and the subsidiary village of Yamlocklock were the largest native settlements left on the Cosumnes River by 1846, there is little evidence of outside contact with Mission San Jose, Sutter, or other Miwok villages. The tribelet apparently became extinct shortly after the discovery of gold at Michigan Bar in 1849; by 1850 the entire river channel east of Sloughhouse was lined with "diggings". Since only Merriam obtained any recollection of the Lopotsimne (and that was uncertain), one may infer that members of this tribelet amalgamated with the intrusive Foothill Nisenan village of Palamul (at Michigan Bar) rather than with the Amuchamne.

Yamlocklock was probably a subsidiary village, but Yumhui and Palama (included with the Plains Miwok by Merriam) appear to have been intrusive Foothill Nisenan settlements of the Wapumne tribelet.

Yamlocklock: The only mention of this village is Gatten's visit of 1846,



when he recorded a population of 67 inhabitants. As discussed earlier (endnote 33 and text), the small population of this village relative to foothill settlements, and Gatten's placement relative to Yuseumne, Yuleyumne and Lopotsimne, both indicate a location on the Cosumnes River east of the mouth of Arkansas Creek and affiliation with the Lopotsimne tribelet. The villagers probably amalgamated with the intrusive Foothill Nisenan during the disruptive decade following 1850.

### The Mokelumne River Tribelets

The data available on the Mokelumne River tribelets are the poorest of any section of Plains Miwok territory. Only the Muqueleme are referred to in early diaries or placed on the 1824 Map. The American fur trapper Smith appears to have had contact with the Muqueleme and Machemne in 1827-1828, but his careless use of names poses interpretative problems as to locations. When Gatten made separate lists of "wild tribes" and "tame tribes" (missionized) in his census of 1846 he eliminated a useful clue as to the relative location of the Locolomne and Seuamne. In 1879 Gilbert divided the river among the Muqueleme, Lelamne, and Machemne, though he indicated that extensive amalgamation had already occurred. Merriam and Kroeber could obtain recollections of only the Seuamne, Muqueleme, Lelamne, and Sakayakumne.

As a result there are few specific locations which are known, and the archaeological record is too meager to be of much help; the upper half of the river has never been completely surveyed, while controlled excavations have been made in only one site. Only Muqueleme, Lelamne, and Sakayakumne have relatively firm locations. The position of the Machemne tribelet is definite but no specific village placement is available. The remaining tribelets shown on Map 3 have been placed on the basis of baptismal dates. Since Dry Creek had an intermittent flow it is doubtful that any single tribelet occupied its banks the year round; a number of tribelets living along the Mokelumne River probably controlled north-south strips of territory which included portions of both Dry Creek and Bear Creek.

If the eight names provided by the mission records are considered to be independent tribelets distributed along the 36 miles of river between the mouth of the Cosumnes River and the foothills, the resulting average of one tribelet every 4.5 miles would still be unusually low in comparison to the Cosumnes River. However, the Muqueleme were clearly an extremely large group for they provided 143 baptisms in contrast to no more than 52 from other Mokelumne River tribelets. The tribelet center had 50 houses in 1828, Duran knew as early as 1818 that they lived in two or three major villages, and four chiefs were referred to in 1838 and about 1850. It is thus possible that the Muqueleme had achieved tribal organization as among the Yokuts. If the three additional Muqueleme villages are added, there would have been 11 major villages on the Mokelumne River, or one every 3.3 miles. Such an average would agree with the greater ecological potential of this larger river, as well as Gilbert's (1879:13) report of 12 villages on the Mokelumne prior to Sutter.<sup>41</sup>

The locations obtained by the ethnographers are consistent with the baptismal dates for the same villages and, since none of the tribelets had been exhausted by missionization, a local continuity of occupation into the



Sutter period seems indicated. Except for the expansion of the Muqueleme southward and a probable shift of the Locolomne into the foothills, contraction of the diminishing population into fewer and fewer centers along the river seems to be evidenced for the post-mission period, rather than frequent shifts to new locations by organized tribelets.

It is clear that the Muqueleme were the largest and dominant tribelet on the river which bears their name, but the meager data available provide little information on the nature of interaction among the eight tribelets or with their neighbors. Limited contact with the North Delta group seems most definite. There is no record of intermarriage, and the Ochejamne and Siusumne were allied with Vallejo between 1837 and 1839 against the horse stealing tribelets of the lower Mokelumne (specifically the Locolomne, Seuamne, and Muqueleme, as well as the Tihuechemne of the lower Cosumnes River). Marriage ties between the Tihuechemne and both the Seuamne (two instances) and the Machemne also suggest that this Cosumnes River tribelet was more oriented toward the Mokelumne tribelets than the Cosumnes group. Except for one Muqueleme-Lelamne linkage, the remaining ties were with off-river groups, especially with Yokuts: Muqueleme-Cosomne (2), Muqueleme-Chilamne Yokuts (2), Seuamne-Laquisimas Yokuts, and Tusealemne-Siakumne Yokuts.

The brief reports on warfare mention only single tribelets rather than alliances, though a mixed Muqueleme-Yatchicumne Yokuts war party was mentioned by Duran in 1817. The Spanish attacked the Muqueleme in 1819, as did the Mexicans in 1827 and 1833. The Muqueleme attacked the allied Ochejamne-Siusumne on the Sacramento River in 1838 in retaliation for a raid. The Sakayakumne were fighting with their neighbors (or foothill groups?) in 1841. Sutter attacked the Muqueleme in 1846. This lack of combined action is also apparent in the New Helvetia Diary. In 1847-1848 the major tribelets still living on the Mokelumne River were the Seuamne, Muqueleme, and Sakayakumne; members of each group always came to Sutter's Fort separately so one may infer that these tribelet centers had remained in their widely separated aboriginal locations. In 1846 Gatten recorded very reduced populations (45 Seuamne, 81 Muqueleme, 47 Sakayakumne), and the fact that such small groups still preferred to live so far apart probably reflects strong in-group feelings. Since there is little indication of pan-river solidarity, it is possible that these same three tribelets represented centers of three cooperative groups: a Lower Mokelumne group may have included the Tihuechemne, Locolomne, and Seuamne; a Middle Mokelumne group might have been represented by the Muqueleme, Lelamne, and Tusealemne; an Upper Mokelumne group may have included the Noypumne, Sakayakumne, and Machemne. As will be discussed under tribelet 23, a very close relationship seems to have existed between the Muqueleme and the Chilamne Yokuts, so the latter tribelet may have belonged with the Middle Mokelumne group as well.

The first recorded penetration of Plains Miwok territory by Europeans took place under Gabriel Moraga, who reached the Mokelumne River in 1806, and crossed Plains Miwok territory in 1808. Though Muñoz noted the change from Yokuts to Miwok language on the first expedition, no villages names, locations, or village counts were recorded for the Mokelumne River by either expedition. The first baptism was a single Muqueleme in 1817, but missionization was resisted and no tribelets had been exhausted of population



by the time of secularization in 1836. Except for four Northern Miwok wives, the Machemne represent the easternmost limit of mission contact as expressed by actual baptism, and none of the tribelets east of the Muqueleme furnished more than 22 neophytes.<sup>42</sup>

It was also in 1817 that Duran met a war party of Muqueleme and Yatchicumne Yokuts on the San Joaquin River near the mouth of the Calaveras River. His comments imply that the Muqueleme had come to attack the Spanish, but were pacified by the priest. Since no Chilamne Yokuts (living on the Calaveras River) had yet been baptized, this appearance of the Muqueleme in Yokuts territory is the first of several recorded contacts which indicate a close friendship between the Muqueleme and Chilamne.

By 1818 it was known that the Muqueleme were offering sanctuary to fugitive neophytes and were notorious horse thieves. Duran's request for a military campaign was granted, and Sanchez defeated the Muqueleme in 1819. The battle took place just north of the Calaveras River, so the Chilamne Yokuts must again have granted permission to the Muqueleme to fight within their territory. Eight years of peace followed this campaign, but conversion was slow, and neither Spanish nor Mexicans appear to have entered the Mokelumne River region. The river is not shown correctly on the 1824 Map, and only the Muqueleme are placed on its banks.

Mexicans under Soto attacked this tribelet in 1827, and details of the battle indicate that the Muqueleme had again confronted the soldiers on the Calaveras River rather than in home territory. A few days later a group of Muqueleme attacked American fur trappers encamped on the Stanislaus River under Smith, mistaking them for Mexicans. Discovering their error after a brief skirmish, the Muqueleme became friends with the trappers and continued to visit the Stanislaus River in 1827, while Smith probably visited the Machemne on his return to Great Salt Lake. The Muqueleme renewed their friendship with Smith in 1828 at French Camp (south of Stockton, near the Coybos Yokuts tribelet center on Map 2), and Smith later visited their villages on the Mokelumne River. This frequent and extensive penetration of Yokuts territory by this Miwok group was possible because missionization had depopulated the banks of the San Joaquin River by 1828. Smith's account clearly indicates that the Muqueleme still lived on the Mokelumne River in 1828, but they probably exploited the food resources of the south Delta after the majority of Yokuts inhabitants had been drawn to Mission San Jose. Northern Yokuts resistance to the Mexicans reached its peak with the revolt of Estanislao in 1829, when three campaigns were necessary to bring the Laquisimas (Stanislaus River) and Tauhalame (Tuolumne River) neophytes under mission control again. Resistance then shifted from the San Joaquin River to the edge of the foothills, and was centered among the non-baptized Siakumne, with their tribelet center at Knight's Ferry. Led by José Jesus, the Siakumne made repeated raids on the Santa Clara Valley, and also reestablished Yokuts control east of the San Joaquin River as far north as Stockton. It would appear that the Muqueleme maintained control of the Calaveras River after 1828, even though settlements were not established thereon until after the Gold Rush.

Muqueleme neophytes refused to return to Mission San Jose in 1833, and the Mexicans again attacked the tribelet. The battle was specifically located



on the Calaveras River, and may account for the modern name of the river. The villages along the Mokelumne River were devastated by the 1833 plague and resistance to missionization appears to have been broken; 111 Muqueleme were baptized in 1834. A good number of these late neophytes preferred to remain at Mission San Jose and in the nearby Livermore Valley following secularization, rather than return to their still functioning tribelets on the Mokelumne.

Ranchos of both the Santa Clara and Sonoma Valleys were subjected to an increasing number of Indian raids in the post-Mission period. Vallejo listed the Locolomne, Seuamne, and Muqueleme as horse-stealing groups in 1838, a Muqueleme group was defeated on the east bank of the Napa River in the same year, and Mokelumne River groups probably participated in a Napa Valley battle in 1840. Punitive attacks by the Mexican rancheros were frequent in the 1840's, but specific tribelet names were not given.

Most groups visited Sutter soon after his founding of New Helvetia in 1839, but only the Tusealemne appear to have actually moved to the fort by 1840. Phelps mentioned five of the eight Mokelumne River tribelets in 1840, and Hale included seven of them as Plains Miwok in 1841. The lack of reference to the Noypumne in either list would suggest that this tribelet had already amalgamated with the Sakayakumne or another neighboring group. Sutter briefly noted that the Sakayakumne were no longer coming to New Helvetia in 1841 because the Indians were fighting among themselves. The absence of the Locolomne in the Hale list may indicate that this tribelet, seeking to escape Vallejo's campaign, moved to the foothills in the Ione region about this time. It is possible that the resultant dislocations were responsible for the Sakayakumne fighting.

In 1843 one village of the Muqueleme (mostly former neophytes) moved to the Cosumnes River near McConnell, where they became acculturated farmers. The Muqueleme also provided an auxiliary military force commanded by Sutter in his support of Governor Micheltorena during the Alvarado-Castro revolt of 1845. A year of unrest on the Mokelumne River followed, and several Muqueleme chiefs, perhaps paid by agents of Castro, figured in raids on New Helvetia and plots against Sutter. After a successful raid in June, 1846, Sutter chased the Muqueleme to the Calaveras River, and the resultant battle appears to have ended Plains Miwok resistance. In November, 1846, Gatten visited the Seuamne, Muqueleme, Sakayakumne, and Locolomne, and the first three tribelets often supplied workers for Sutter in 1847 and 1848.

Cultural disintegration appears to have followed quickly after the Gold Rush. Only the Locolomne, then in the foothills, signed the never to be ratified 1850 treaty with the United States which was to establish a Cosumnes River reservation. By 1852 only the Muqueleme tribelet center was still occupied on the Mokelumne River, and another village of Muqueleme had moved to Bellota on the Calaveras River. There is no evidence that ceremonial dances were held on the Mokelumne River in 1870's. The famous Muqueleme dance leader Yoktco is reported to have gone from Pleasanton (near Mission San Jose) to the Foothill Nisenan in 1872, and died shortly later on the Cosumnes River among the Amuchamne at Elk Grove. The Muqueleme had moved to the Megerle Ranch near Clements by 1879, but all villages on the Mokelumne River had been abandoned by 1907. Survivors joined the Northern Miwok at Buena Vista, where a



reservation was finally established in 1914. Although the locations of three unnamed, subsidiary Muqueleme villages are known, all recorded names associated with the Mokelumne River refer to tribelets only. A summary of data available on these eight tribelets follows.

## 21. LOCOLOMNE

Location: Placement on or near the Mokelumne River is indicated by Phelps, Vallejo, and Gatten. Number of baptisms and associated dates indicate a relative placement beyond the Tauquimne Yokuts and Musupumne, but close to the Tihuechemne and Sotolomne. The Locolomne have therefore been placed just east of the mouth of the Cosumnes River, as the westernmost Plains Miwok tribelet in the Mokelumne River section. Surface collections from a cluster of archaeological sites in this vicinity suggest an identification of SJo-48 with the Locolomne tribelet center; if so, the village was on the south bank of the river, five miles eastsoutheast of Thornton. As discussed below, the tribelet appears to have moved to the foothills near Ione after the arrival of Sutter.

Missionization: In process between 1826-1834, with 52 baptisms, mostly in 1827.

References: Listed as a horse-stealing group by Vallejo in 1838. Included with tribelets on the Mokelumne River by Phelps in 1840. Suspected of killing Lindsay in 1845, when the Locolomne were living in the foothills near Ione. Lindsay was one of the settlers established by Weber near Stockton. In February or March, 1845, he was killed by Indian raiders. The "Locolumnas" of the "mountains" were suspected (Gein 1942:71) Tinkham (1923:49-50) indicated that the "Lo-lum-na Indians of Amador County" were later exonerated when Sutter found that the raiders had been the Polo Central Miwok of Tuolumne County. The number of baptisms and associated dates recorded in the mission register will not support an aboriginal location of the Locolomne in the foothills, but all references after 1840 would be consistent with a movement of this group to the foothills of upper Dry Creek. Chief Poltok (see below) arrived at New Helvetia with the Wapumne chiefs in 1847 (Sutter 1939:49) and Chief Poldok was associated with them by William Joseph (Uldall and Shipley 1966:65, no. 13). Gatten visited the village between the Sakayakumne and Olonapatme in 1846, and recorded a population of 88 persons. Last mentioned in 1851, when Chief Pol-tuck signed the land treaty (never to be ratified) with the United States government on the Cosumnes River; the Locolomne were the only Plains Miwok group to do so (Royce 1899:786).

Confusion: Cook (1955a:64) included the Locolomne with the Cosumnes River tribelets, but all historical references associate this group with the Mokelumne River drainage.

Comment: The Locolomne appear to have been a small tribelet of the Lower Mokelumne group. Since they participated in raids on Sonoma Valley during the late 1830's, it is probable that the tribelet was one of those attacked by Salvador Vallejo in 1840. The tribelet was not mentioned by Hale in 1841 so it is possible that the Locolomne had moved to the foothills near Ione to escape Vallejo between July, 1840, and August, 1841. A foothill location is



indicated for 1845, and is consistent with Gatten's visit to their village after he left the Sakayakumne in 1846; the small population at this time supports former residence in the valley. The fact that the tribelet was still sufficiently organized to sign the 1851 treaty supports a foothill placement just before and after the Gold Rush. No ethnographer obtained any recollection of the tribelet so the survivors were probably dispersed by mining activities.

## 22. SEUAMNE

Location: Vallejo and a Valley Nisenan informant (Tom Cleanso) associated the tribelet with the Mokelumne River groups. Baptismal dates indicate a placement more distant from Mission San Jose than the Tauquimne Yokuts or Musupumne, but closer than the Locolomne. The importance of the tribelet prompts identification of the large historic site SJo-43 as the Seuamne tribelet center (Schenck and Dawson 1929: site 43). Excavations in SJo-43 have revealed evidence of continuous occupation from prehistoric times into the early Sutter period. No late Sutter period cemetery was located but may exist in untested parts of the site, or at the adjacent unexcavated site SJo-44, clearly a suburb of the tribelet center.

Marriage: Two men had Tihuechemne wives, and one woman was married to a Laquisimas Yokuts.

Missionization: In process between 1822-1835, with 47 baptisms, mostly in 1829. The large number of variants indicate that the name was difficult to transcribe: Seyuadme, Seguamne, Seoagme, etc.

References: Associated with other Mokelumne River horse thieves by Vallejo in 1838. Listed as Plains Miwok by Hale in 1841. Gatten included the "Seywamenes" as "tame" Indians in the 1846 census, with a population of 45 persons. References by Sutter (1939:47-48, 55, 63) to the arrival of the "Sywamney" chief at New Helvetia in 1847 indicate that the tribelet was still resident on the Mokelumne River in the late Sutter period. A Valley Nisenan informant recalled "Cewa" as a southern Plains Miwok village name (Kroeber 1929:259).

Confusion: The 116 Mission Santa Clara baptisms listed by Cook (1955a:66) for "Seguamne" actually refer to the distinct Sunomna Yokuts of the Tuolumne River. No original data support an association of the Seuamne with the "Bolbones" (Cholvon Yokuts), "Cosumnes" (Cosomne), or "Sigousamenes" (Siusumne), possibilities which have been offered as uncertain alternatives to a Mokelumne River placement by Cook (1955a; 1962:208, note 38; see tribelet 5 Confusion).

Comment: Of the Mokelumne River tribelets, the Seuamne were second in importance only to the Muqueleme during the Sutter period. This ranking was probably aboriginal as well, and it is possible that the Seuamne were the dominant tribelet of a Lower Mokelumne cooperative group, which also included the adjacent Locolomne together with the Tihuechemne of the lower Cosumnes River. Although the population continued to decline after the 1833 plague, the tribelet center remained occupied until at least 1847. The survivors had been absorbed by the Muqueleme by 1852.



23. MUQUELEME

Location: Specific villages located by Gilbert, Merriam, and Kroeber. Aboriginal territory probably extended from Woodbridge to Lockeford on the middle Mokelumne River, but control of the Calaveras River was established about 1828 following missionization of the Chilamne Yokuts; one village moved to the Cosumnes River in 1843, and amalgamation of the Seuamne by 1852 permitted Muqueleme survivors to claim all territory west to the mouth of the Cosumnes River (Merriam 1907:350; Gilbert 1879:13). Each source refers to abandoned villages so it is clear that these expanded territorial claims refer to post-Gold Rush amalgamation. Gilbert assigned Dry Creek to the Muqueleme, but this tributary was probably divided among several aboriginal tribelets.

There appear to have been four major Muqueleme villages on the Mokelumne River, but only the name of the tribelet center has been recorded. The latter ("Mokel," "Muk-kel") was located 1.25 miles west of Lockeford, on the south side of the river, and can be identified with the unexcavated site SJo-27 (Merriam 1907:350-351; Kroeber 1925: Pl. 37, no. 13).<sup>43</sup> The three other villages were still occupied in 1850; their location beside ferries of the Gold Rush period reflects site selection based on accessibility to a river crossing rather than a late shift to American settlements because archaeological sites (all unexcavated) are found at each location (Gilbert 1879:13). These unnamed villages were located at Staple's Ferry (four miles west of Lockeford, south bank, SJo-30), Benedict's Ferry (just north of Lodi, south bank, SJo-35), and at Wood's Ferry (at Woodbridge, west bank, SJo-36). One group of Muqueleme were living at Athearn's Ferry on the Calaveras River (just east of Bellota) in 1852, but this move probably took place after 1850 (Gilbert 1879:13-14). Wilde (1925) placed the "Marelkos" on the Mokelumne River "a century ago".

Marriage: Wives married to Muqueleme husbands included two Cosomne, one Lelamne, and one Chilamne Yokuts; one Muqueleme woman was married to a Chilamne Yokuts.

Missionization: In process between 1817-1836, with 143 baptisms, mostly in 1834. The tribelet was a center of resistance, and only 26 neophytes had been recorded prior to 1834; in the latter year, following the 1833 plague and a disastrous battle, 111 Muqueleme were baptized.

References: Duran met a war party of mixed Muqueleme and Yatchicumne Yokuts near the mouth of the Calaveras River (Yokuts territory) in 1817 (Cook 1960:275, May 23). During the next year, horse stealing and protection of fugitives by the Muqueleme reached such extremes that Duran requested that a punitive campaign be waged against them; in October, 1819, Sanchez attacked the Muqueleme just north of the Calaveras River (Chilamne Yokuts territory) and killed 20 Indians, wounded 20 more, took 16 captives, and recovered 49 horses (McCarthy 1958:145; Cook 1962:166). Mexican forces under Soto attacked the Muqueleme in May, 1827, apparently because the latter were sheltering a large group of fugitives; Indian defenses included holes covered with branches, a detail which suggests that the battlefield may have been the same one as used in 1846 on the Calaveras River (Bojorges ms.:4-5; McCarthy 1958:187-190).



A few days before May 20, 1827, the Muqueleme attacked the Smith party of fur trappers on the Stanislaus River (Yokuts territory depopulated by missionization); peace was established when the Indians saw they were not fighting Mexicans, and the Muqueleme continued to make friendly visits to the Stanislaus through the summer (Sullivan 1934:17, 35-36). Visits were renewed in January, 1828, when Smith was camped on French Camp Slough, south of Stockton; though Smith referred to the Calaveras River as the "Mackallumbry" (after the Muqueleme), his account indicates that these Miwok were still resident on the Mokelumne River (Smith's "Rock River") (Sullivan 1934:55).<sup>44</sup> On January 18, 1828, Smith reached the Muqueleme tribelet center (probably Staple's Ferry) and counted 50 houses (Sullivan 1934:56). In 1830 the Cosomne told Berreyesa that the Muqueleme had 50 horses and the principal chief, Timay, had more than 100 horses (Cook 1962:187). Another party of American fur trappers crossed and recrossed the Mokelumne River during the summer of 1832; trouble with horse thieves led to the burning of a village of 40 houses on the middle Mokelumne River (Work 1923:58, 59, 68).

Another battle with the Mexicans, under Peralta, took place in 1833. Muqueleme neophytes refused to return to Mission San Jose, so a conference was arranged which took place on the Calaveras River (northeast of Waterloo). When the Indians remained adamant, the Mexicans attacked the group (many of whom had not brought weapons), and the many Indian dead were left unburied, presumably because the 1833 plague was already beginning (Cook 1962:188, 202; Bojorges ms.:9). The Palomares account provides the most credible origin for the modern name of the Calaveras River.

After secularization in 1836, some Muqueleme remained at Mission San Jose and became laborers for José de Jesus Vallejo. Runaways were pursued in 1837, and the murder of two Muqueleme chiefs was mentioned (Cook 1962:190). Most of the recent neophytes returned to the Mokelumne River, and continued their raids on the Santa Clara Valley, with occasional forays into the Napa and Sonoma Valleys. In March, 1838, the Muqueleme attacked the Ochejamne and Siusumne allies of Mariano Vallejo in reprisal for a raid by these Sacramento River tribelets (Vallejo ms. 1:65). The horse stealing "tribes" which raided Sonoma Valley were the "Moquelumnes" (Muqueleme), "Seguak" (Seuamne), "Culumuk" (Locolomne?), "Tiguechek" (Tihuechemne), and "Chapayasek" (Chapaes). These names were given to Vallejo by his Ochejamne allies, hence the -k suffix used by Plains Miwok to designate people of a distant village (Barrett 1908:341). All but the last two names (Cosumnes River groups) were located on the Mokelumne River. In August, 1838, the Muqueleme were defeated by Mariano Vallejo at the mouth of the Napa Valley; four chiefs were mentioned, one of whom was executed after the August battle (Vallejo ms. 1:124). The same date was given for the execution of Chief Ambrosio, although José de Jesus Vallejo placed the event at the Rancho de los Borregos near Walnut Creek (Cook 1962:191). Phelps obtained the name of the tribelet from Sutter in 1840, and the Muqueleme were included in Hale's Plains Miwok list of 1841. In 1843 one Muqueleme village moved to the south bank of the Cosumnes River near McConnell, where they practiced agriculture until at least 1855 (Buzzle, Nyman, and Sutter ms.:22, 28, 34, 37; Sheldon ms.). About 100 Muqueleme served under Sutter in support of Governor Micheltorena in the 1845 revolt, and Chief Heleno was rewarded with the Cosumnes land grant, taken over by Shaddon in 1848 (Buzzle, Nyman, and Sutter ms.:6, 22, 34). The unsuccessful revolt led to Castro's assassination plots against Sutter which involved two



Muqueleme chiefs (Zollinger 1939:142, 158, 195). Sutter (1932:32-34) ended these plots by attacking the Muqueleme in 1846; the latter fled to the Calaveras River where they fought from defensive holes (as in 1827), but many were killed. There were 81 survivors in the Gatten census of 1846, when the Muqueleme were still the largest organized tribelet which had been extensively missionized. Bryant (1849:319) recruited one chief and 12 "Machelemes" warriors for the Bear Flag Revolt on Nov. 17, 1846. The group was referred to repeatedly in the New Helvetia Diary, and was listed in 1850 by Prince Paul (Clark 1959), as well as by Taylor.

In 1850 Staples (ms.) began operating a ferry near the tribelet center, and employed Indian labor; he noted that the women were sent to the gold fields and the money obtained was squandered by the chiefs on alcohol and gambling. Four villages were still occupied by the Muqueleme and members of other amalgamated tribelets about this time, at Staple's Ferry, Benedict's Ferry, and Wood's Ferry on the Mokelumne, and Athearn's Ferry on the Calaveras (Gilbert 1879:13). Only the Staple's Ferry and Athearn's Ferry settlements remained occupied in 1852 (Gilbert 1879:14). Chief José Piñon was residing with his "tribe" near Lockeford (Staple's Ferry?) when wounded in 1863 (Heizer 1974b:304). Yoktco, the 1872 dance leader, was a Muqueleme (Gifford 1927:229; Kroeber 1929:272), but there is no reference to dances at this time on the Mokelumne River. All villages had been abandoned by 1907 (Merriam 1907:350-351). The ethnographers appear to have found Muqueleme descendants living in the Buena Vista-Ione region of the foothills.

Comment: The Muqueleme were clearly the largest of all Plains Miwok tribelets. The population appears to have resided in four major villages, each with an important chief, yet maintained tribelet unity. There is thus a suggestion that tribal organization was developing, comparable to that of the Yokuts. It is possible that the Muqueleme were the dominant tribelet of a Middle Mokelumne cooperative unit which also included the Lelamne and Tusealemne, as well as the Chilamne Yokuts of the Calaveras River.

Various factors indicate close interaction between the Muqueleme and Chilamne Yokuts. Two of the five recorded Muqueleme marriages involved two of the three marriages recorded for the Chilamne. Frequent intermarriage may account for the anomaly that Chilamne female personal names have Plains Miwok endings, while Muqueleme names display a relatively high frequency of the -te ending of Yokuts.<sup>45</sup> Yokuts influence on Muqueleme is also suggested by the tribal tendency and the fact that the most frequent variant of the Miwok tribelet name in the Mission San Jose register is Muqueleme rather than Muquelemne; this emphasis on the -me suffix, typical of Yokuts names in the Mission Santa Clara register, is unique for Plains Miwok groups. Since the Chilamne controlled the Calaveras River until 1827, the early Spanish contacts with the Muqueleme in 1817 and 1819 on the Calaveras River must have involved Chilamne permission to enter Yokuts territory. The fact that the Muqueleme maintained control of the Calaveras River in the post-Mission period, when the Siakumne had reestablished Yokuts control as far north as Stockton, may indicate that surviving Chilamne amalgamated with the Muqueleme after 1827 or reflect rights obtained through intermarriage between Muqueleme and Chilamne.

The Muqueleme resisted missionization until after the 1833 plague, and were the most warlike of any Plains Miwok group. Early acceptance of the



raiding pattern and equestrian movement probably reflects influence from the Yokuts groups living on the Stanislaus and Tuolumne Rivers. The Muqueleme maintained an ambivalent attitude toward Sutter. One group of ardent supporters established a new village on the Cosumnes River and became fully acculturated; most of the tribelet members remained in their native villages, and participated in occasional raids on Sutter's livestock or served as agents of the Mexicans until 1846. The dwindling population remained on the Mokelumne River during the Gold Rush, though one village moved to the Calaveras River. There is no evidence for any revitalization of ceremonies during the 1870's, and the last village on the Mokelumne River appears to have been abandoned by 1907.

#### 24. LELAMNE

Location: Provided by Merriam (1907) and Kroeber (1925). The tribelet center was on south side of the river, one mile west of Clements. This placement coincides with the American period site SJo-26 (Schenck and Dawson 1929:site 26).

Marriage: One man had a Muqueleme wife.

Missionization: In process between 1822-1836, with 22 baptisms, mostly in 1835.

References: Included with Mokelumne River groups by Phelps in 1840, and listed as a Plains Miwok tribelet by Hale in 1841 (see pp. 32, 66). Five "Lielimne" arrived at New Helvetia in 1847 (Sutter 1939:51). Gilbert found only three "Lalas" survivors in 1879, and noted that the tribelet had been absorbed by the Muqueleme (Tinkham 1923:38, 40). The name and village location were obtained by Merriam (1907:351) and Kroeber (1925: Pl. 37, no. 14).

Confusion: Cook (1955a:64) confused the Lelamne with the Ylamne of the Sacramento River and the Lamamne Yokuts, but the historical documents indicate that three tribelets were represented.

Comment: A small tribelet shielded and dominated by the Muqueleme would appear to be represented. Absence of the Lelamne from the Gatten census may indicate that the tribelet had been absorbed by the Muqueleme by 1846. However, individuals retained tribelet consciousness as late as 1879, and appear to have continued to bury their dead in the former tribelet center (SJo-26) during the American period.

#### 25. TUSEALEMNE

Location: Baptismal dates indicate a relative placement between the Lelamne and Noypumne. No specific location is possible.

Marriage: One woman was married to a Siakumne Yokuts.

Missionization: In process between 1825-1835, with 10 baptisms, mostly in 1825. Only the village name (Tuseale) appears in the baptismal register.



References: Survivors were living at New Helvetia in 1840 (Phelps ms., see pages 31-32 herein). Hale listed the "Turealemnes" (another misreading) as a Plains Miwok group in 1841.

Comment: The appearance of only the village name (without the -mne suffix) in the mission records might indicate that Tuseale was one of the unnamed Muqueleme villages. However, the appearance of Tusealemne in the Sutter period documents indicates tribelet status; since amalgamation of small tribelets was already in process by 1840 it is doubtful that a Mission period subsidiary village would have become an independent tribelet in the Sutter period. Absence of the -mne suffix in the baptismal register probably means that all Tuseale neophytes came from the tribelet center, and the small tribelet may have had no subsidiary villages. Tusealemne survivors of the 1833 plague appear to have moved to New Helvetia by July, 1840; lack of later references suggests that tribelet cohesion had been lost after 1841.

## 26. NOYPUMNE

Location: Baptismal dates indicate a relative placement between the Tusealemne and Sakayakumne. No specific location for the tribelet center can be given.

Missionization: In process between 1827-1834, with six baptisms, mostly in 1828.

References: None.

Comment: A small tribelet seems indicated. Since the tribelet was not exhausted by missionization, absence of later references would suggest that the organized group was extinct by 1840. As discussed under tribelet 1, if Merriam created the name Hulpumne as a Plains Miwok rendering of the name of the misplaced Julpun Bay Miwok, then the Noypumne should probably be shifted to the territory assigned to the Hulpumne herein.

## 27. SAKAYAKUMNE

Location: Provided by Kroeber (1925). The tribelet center was on the south bank of the Mokelumne River, five miles west of Camanche.

Missionization: A single "Sacayaquimis" was baptized in 1839 at Mission Santa Clara, after Mission San Jose had been secularized; his choice of mission and the Yokuts form of the tribelet name suggest that this man had married a Yokuts wife, so the ethnographic Miwok form of the tribelet name will be retained herein.

References: Included with Mokelumne River tribelets by Phelps in 1840. Listed as Plains Miwok by Hale in 1841. In August, 1841, Sutter (ms. 3:9) noted that warfare had broken out on the upper Mokelumne River, so the "Sagayacumne" no longer came to New Helvetia. It is possible that this conflict reflected the movement of the Locolomne from the lower Mokelumne River to upper Dry Creek between July, 1841, and August, 1841. The tribelet center was the easternmost village visited by Gatten in 1846, when he recorded a population of 47 inhabitants. The tribelet is referred to repeatedly in the



New Helvetia Diary during the years 1847-1848 (Sutter 1939:53, 65). Kroeber (1925: Pl. 37, no. 15) obtained the name from unknown informants. A Valley Nisenan informant recalled the village name as "Cákayak," which means "scouring rush" in Valley Nisenan (Kroeber 1929:259).

Confusion: Cook (1955a:65-66) confused the Sakayakumne with the Siusumne of the Sacramento River, and the Siakumne Yokuts of the Stanislaus River. The distinctness of the Siusumne has been discussed under tribelet 5. Documents of the Sutter period clearly differentiate between the Sakayakumne Miwok and the Siakumne Yokuts. The name Siakumne is most applicable to the composite tribe, led by Jose Jesus, which maintained a primary center at Knight's Ferry on the upper Stanislaus during the 1840's and 1850's. The aboriginal Yokuts group (rendered as variants of Zicomne in the Mission San Jose register) probably lived between the Calaveras and Stanislaus River prior to the revolt of Estanislao in 1829.

Comment: During the Sutter period the Sakayakumne were the third most important tribelet on the Mokelumne River, and one can infer that this group belongs with the Muqueleme and Seuamne as another center of influence in aboriginal times as well. The tribelet may have been the dominant member of an Upper Mokelumne cooperative unit which also included the Noypumne and Machemne. Missionization was resisted, but tribelet members appear to have become willing workers for Sutter. The tribelet center was still occupied as late as 1848. Since Gilbert obtained no recollection of the tribelet in 1879, the survivors may have amalgamated with the Machemne after the discovery of gold near Camanche in 1849.

## 28. MACHEMNE

Location: According to Gilbert (Tinkham 1923:38), the "Machacos" held territory on both sides of the upper Mokelumne River west of Campo Seco. Since Hale included the "Matchemnes" as Plains Miwok, this tribelet is considered to be the easternmost valley group. No location for the tribelet center is available.

Marriage: One man had a Tihuechemne wife.

Missionization: Just beginning in 1834-1835, with about six baptisms. Merriam (1955) included the Amuchamne (Cosumnes River, tribelet 19) as a variant of the Machemne, giving a combined total of 13 baptisms. Both names appear an equal number of times, beginning in 1834, and both tribelets were about the same distance from Mission San Jose, so six neophytes have been assigned to the Machemne and seven to the Amuchamne.

References: Smith probably visited the tribelet center in 1827, and the chief visited him in 1828. Smith visited the "Machyma band of Indians that reside on the head of the Mackalumbry River" in 1827 (Sullivan 1934:55). If Smith was accurate, this would place the Machemne on the upper Calaveras River (Smith's "Mackalumbry"); however in 1828 the "Machyma" chief came from and returned to the Mokelumne River (Smith's "Rock River") so it is probable that Smith in 1827 mistook the upper Mokelumne River for one of the northern tributaries of the Calaveras River. Smith was also very lax in his use of names (see Sullivan 1934:53, 169, endnote 65). Listed as a Plains Miwok group



by Hale in 1841. In 1879 Gilbert was told that "Machacos" had once lived on the upper Mokelumne River west of Campos Seco (Tinkham 1923:38). The -co suffix indicates that Gilbert was told about the Machemne by a survivor of some other tribelet, probably the Lelamne.

Comment: The few references suggest that a small, peripheral tribelet was represented. As least some of the neophytes probably represented wives who were baptized with their husbands who lived closer to Mission San Jose. The tribelet may have been associated with the Sakayakumne; though Sutter was aware of the group, there is no evidence for independent visits to New Helevetia but workers may have come with the Sakayakumne. Tribelet identity was probably lost shortly after the discovery of gold at Camanche in 1849.



## Chapter 6

### LINGUISTIC BOUNDARIES

#### The Controversy

Since 1877 some 13 different maps have been published which have shown one or more boundaries of the territory occupied aboriginally by speakers of the Plains Miwok language. Each was based on available ethnographic data only, and represented attempts to reconcile conflicting statements of different informants, few of whom appear to have been Plains Miwok. None of the maps was accompanied by specific data on these informants, and general recollections as to where the language changed (in terms of rivers or modern towns) appear to have been a more frequent guide than village locations. The northern boundary has varied from a position between the Cosumnes and American Rivers to the north bank of Dry Creek. The eastern boundary has usually been placed at or near the base of the Sierran foothills, except for one extension of Foothill Nisenan territory to include the middle and upper portions of the Cosumnes River and Dry Creek. The much disputed southern boundary has fluctuated between the Cosumnes and Fresno Rivers. The western boundary has shifted between the Cosumnes River to just west of the Sacramento River.

Latham (1856:81), using a few vocabularies which included the Plains Miwok word list published by Hale, recognized the relationship of Sierran and Coast Miwok as early as 1856, when he proposed a single "Moquelemne" family and distinguished it from "Costano." Nevertheless, in preparing a linguistic map to accompany Powers' Tribes of California (1877:535, end map), Powell accepted Gatschet's (1877:157-158) unification of Miwok and Costanoan as the "Mutsun" family (modern Utian) and assigned all territory between the Cosumnes and Fresno Rivers (Powers' Miwok boundaries) from the Sierran crest westward to the Pacific Ocean to the "Mutsun". Additional material and further study verified Latham's original separation of Miwok and Costanoan, so Powell (1891: Pl. 1) restored "Moquelumnan" as the name of the Miwok family; he then placed the Miwok-Costanoan boundary along the San Joaquin River but Powers' other Miwok boundaries were left unchanged except for the insertion of Pinart's "Tcholovone" group as an island of Yokuts ("Mariposan") speech along the San Joaquin River between Stockton and the Merced River (see Map 1a, herein). Similar boundaries were retained by Dixon and Kroeber (1903: Pl. 1) and Kroeber (1904: fn tpc.) except for the shift of the isolated enclave of Yokuts to north of the Tuolumne River into the Delta proper. Dixon (1905: Pl. 38) also placed the Miwok-Nisenan boundary at the Cosumnes River.

Two major revisions, prepared independently from new field work, appeared in 1907 and 1908. Merriam (1907: Pl. 25; 1967:324) extended Plains Miwok ("Mewko") territory north and west of the Cosumnes River to the east bank of the Sacramento River, eliminated the island of Yokuts in the Delta, and placed the southern boundary at the Tuolumne River instead of the Fresno River (Map 1b, herein). Barrett (1908: Map 3) maintained the northern boundary at the Cosumnes River, but placed the southern boundary of the Plains Miwok at the Calaveras River, and tentatively assigned the entire eastern half of the San Joaquin Valley to the Yokuts. After the appearance of the 1907 article by Merriam, Kroeber (1908) marshalled specific linguistic evidence in support of



Barrett's southern boundary, which he formalized three years later with a map (Kroeber 1911: fntpc.).

For the Handbook, completed in 1917, Kroeber (1925: Pl. 37) accepted Barrett's eastern and southern boundaries for Plains Miwok, but used the northern and western boundaries given by Merriam, a compromise which has been generally accepted as the standard distribution of Plains Miwok (Map 1c, herein). After working with Maidu and Patwin informants, Kroeber (1932: end map) correctly inferred that the Plains Miwok had probably held both banks of the lower Sacramento River. Beals (1933: Map 1) accepted Nisenan claims (also reported by Gifford 1927) to most of the Cosumnes River and Laguna Creek and placed the Miwok-Nisenan boundary at Dry Creek as an alternative to Merriam's 1907 boundary (Map 1d, herein). Latta (1949: end sheets) preferred to regard the "Cosumne" and "Mokelumne" as possible Yokuts groups, and his map would imply that the Plains Miwok never existed.

Merriam continued to collect data on the Plains Miwok although his findings were not published until after his death. By 1939, Merriam (1966:14) had expanded Yatchicumne territory (still regarded as "Mewko" or Plains Miwok) eastward from the Tuolumne River into the Coast Ranges at the expense of Costanoan territory; now familiar with Arroyo's Saclan (Bay Miwok) vocabulary, Merriam retained Kroeber's misplacement of this group and extended "Mewko" territory to San Pablo Bay. While Merriam's basic relationships were retained in the Heizer (1966: Map 5) revision, the Saclan territory was shifted inland and several boundaries (most notably that of the "Mokelumne") were carelessly drawn. The Heizer (1966: Map 4) revision of Kroeber was likewise incorrect in many specific details; for the Plains Miwok, the northern, western and southern boundaries were placed in the middle of the American, Sacramento and Calaveras River, respectively, although Kroeber (1932) had emphasized that waterways themselves were seldom boundaries. In addition, Heizer placed the eastern boundary well within the foothills at the expense of Northern Miwok territory.

When the ethnographic data are viewed in historical perspective most of the controversy as to Plains Miwok boundaries can be ascribed to early depopulation of the Delta due to missionization, and dislocations which resulted from the Gold Rush. If the analysis of village locations presented in Chapter 5 approaches correctness, the Plains Miwok had a firm aboriginal claim to both banks of the lower Sacramento River, the north Delta islands, and the entire valley drainages of the Cosumnes and Mokelumne Rivers, as shown on Maps 2 and 3 herein. A combination of Kroeber's 1925 and 1932 boundaries thus appears to have been essentially correct, but historical and archaeological evidence can now be offered to support territorial limits previously based on inference and arbitrary choice. Each boundary will now be discussed, with brief comments on neighboring groups; the sequence of presentation will begin at the north, and then deal in turn with the eastern, southeastern, southwestern, and western boundaries.

### The Northern Boundary

Even by Powers' time there was no agreement as to whether the northern boundary which separated Miwok and Nisenan territory should be placed at the Cosumnes or American River. Despite conflicting reports, Powers (1877:313-314



346), Powell (1891), Dixon (1905), Barrett (1908:346-347), and Curtis (1924:129) placed the boundary along the Cosumnes River. Merriam (1907:348) presented tribelet or village names in support of a boundary between the American and Cosumnes Rivers, a placement which was modified but slightly by Kroeber (1925:442-445). Data available to Beals (1933:337-338) were in such disagreement that he mapped two alternative southern boundaries for the Nisenan: one agreed with that given by Merriam; the other, with reference to Map 2 herein, began just below Sacramento at Sama, crossed the Cosumnes River near Elk Grove at Sac-221, reached middle Dry Creek just north of SJo-43, and continued up Dry Creek to the foothills south of Ione (Map 1d herein).

In view of the disputed affiliation of Merriam's northernmost villages (Chapter 5), the weight of ethnographic evidence would seem to favor the Nisenan claim to at least the upper Cosumnes River. In contrast, the historical documents not only provide definite support for aboriginal Miwok occupation of the Cosumnes drainage, but pose the question as to whether the Valley Nisenan even controlled the south bank of the American River prior to Sutter. Unfortunately, no priest accompanied Moraga when he crossed the Cosumnes and American Rivers in 1808, and this soldier made no comment on language or village names pertinent to these rivers in his diary (Moraga 1957). Likewise the details recorded in 1837 by Belcher (1843) are so vague that several interpretations are possible. While it is clear that this early visitor reached the Nisenan village of Wolok at the mouth of the Feather River, his failure to mention the mouth of the American River and the confused report of his Indian pilot leave it unclear as to whether the "Oneeshanatee tribe" (i.e., Nisenan, rendered as "Nishinam" by Powers) were then living south of the American River. On page 122 Belcher referred to the village of "Wallock," the location of which is clearly the Nisenan Wolok rather than the Gualacomne Miwok tribelet center of "Walak" (Kroeber 1929:257). On page 119 he indicated that the Indian pilot was not familiar with the Delta rivers, and on page 125 questioned the pilot's identification of the Indians south of the Feather River as "Oneeshanatee." The reference on page 126 to the "Oneeshanatee" village (unnamed) still lower on the Sacramento River is therefore ambiguous: the Nisenan affiliation would indicate that Sama was intended; the location would agree better with the Miwok Gualacomne; the association with Vallejo (page 120) would favor identification of the Indians as Ochejamne Miwok. Since all three villages were occupied at this time, one may doubt whether Belcher was correct in his report that all contacts with Indians south of Wolok involved inhabitants of a single village.

Although Sutter and his pilot Davis indicated that at least one village was located on the south bank of the American when they arrived in 1839 (the village was probably Yuseumne), neither of them left any explicit record of the village names native to the vicinity of New Helvetia (Zollinger 1939:65; Davis 1929:19). When Phelps (ms.) arrived in July, 1840, aboriginal settlement had already been disrupted, and a mixed group of Miwok were living in villages just southwest of Sutter's establishment (Vioget ms.). This early resettlement of Miwok probably accounts for the following reports which might seem to argue for Plains Miwok occupation of the south bank of the American River.

a. Lienhard (1898:125; 1941:7) stated that the "Sacramento" Indians occupied the site of New Helvetia and spoke a different language from that of



the Pusune Nisenan; only the American River provided protection from mutual attack by these deadly enemies, and fear of both Sutter and the local Indians delayed the arrival of any Pusune at New Helvetia for a year.

Lienhard did not arrive at New Helvetia until 1846, most of his contact was with Feather River Nisenan, and his reference to "Sacramento" Indians displays a lack of knowledge of aboriginal groups. The Pusune tribelet probably held both banks of the American aboriginally, including the site of New Helvetia. Lienhard's account may refer to antagonism and a dialect difference between the Pusune and Sama Nisenan, but more likely reflects the almost immediate move of the Gualacomne, Chupumne, and Ochejamne Miwok to New Helvetia.<sup>46</sup>

b. Vallejo (ms, 2:37) and Zollinger (1939:68) placed New Helvetia in Ochejamne territory.<sup>47</sup> As discussed under tribelet 6, this tribelet has a firm location in the north Delta. Various groups mentioned by Vallejo indicate that his contact with the Miwok did not extend north of the Siusumne so it is reasonable to infer that Vallejo was using Ochejamne as a general locative and had little specific knowledge of the actual inhabitants of the American River.

c. From 1839 on, Sutter drew extensively on Plains Miwok tribelets as a labor force. In 1841 Sutter provided Hale with the names of 15 Plains Miwok groups but only nine Nisenan village names. This might suggest that Plains Miwok were living in closer proximity to New Helvetia than the Nisenan. However, 12 of the 15 Miwok groups have firm locations within the mission orbit, and none was closer than 12 miles to Sutter's establishment. Sutter's preference for Miwok laborers was due to the fact that large numbers of them had already been acculturated by missionization; many spoke Spanish, could ride horses, and had been exposed to farming and European crafts. In contrast, the Nisenan were still cohesive villagers largely unaffected by missionization. As indicated above, it took Sutter a year to make friends with the Pusune living across the river on the north bank of the American River. During the first years the more distant Feather River groups to the north preferred to raid the new establishment rather than to serve as laborers; at least one Feather River village had been "destroyed" by Sutter before 1841, and peace had been disrupted again before 1842 (Wilkes 1844:195; Sutter ms. 3:16).

The Valley Nisenan claim to the south bank of the American River appears to be stronger, because villages of this group can be placed in the region. Kroeber (1929:256-257) obtained a list of 13 Valley Nisenan settlements on the American River, of which one village (Momol) was placed on the south bank opposite Pusune; in addition, the southernmost Nisenan village was stated to have been Sama, four miles south of the mouth of the American on the east bank of the Sacramento River (Merriam 1966:45, 61). Hale obtained a Nisenan vocabulary from "Tsamak" in 1841, and as already discussed, the archaeological collection from Sac-29 supports identification of this Sutter district site as Sama (see endnote 46 and tribelet 1). Another Nisenan village, Yusumne, can also be placed on the south bank of the American River prior to 1843. Indians from Yusumne may have met Sutter when he landed in 1839, Hale listed the group as Nisenan in 1841, and the village was placed about six miles east of New Helvetia on the Vioget map of 1843.



Only four Valley Nisenan villages on the American River are referred to in the Sutter documents: Pusune, Sekumne, Yuseumne, and Kiskey. It is therefore probable that the other nine villages given by Kroeber were abandoned after the 1833 plague, when survivors congregated in four tribelet centers.<sup>48</sup> While it might be argued that Sama and Yuseumne represent post-Sutter shifts south of the American River, the placement of Momol (not mentioned in any historical source) must represent a pre-Sutter settlement, and thus would establish aboriginal Nisenan control of the south bank. The sparse Nisenan settlement of this side of the river may reflect Miwok hostility, though the rarity of archaeological sites suggests that only a few places on the south bank were suitable for permanent villages.

The Nisenan name for the American River meant "east water," while the Sacramento was called "west water" (Kroeber 1929:286). Had the Nisenan held only the north bank, "south water" would have been a more fitting designation for the American River. The fact that Sutter in 1841 used the Sacramento River rather than the American River as a Miwok-Nisenan boundary, though ambiguous, suggests that he was aware of Nisenan occupation of both banks of the American River. Groups which spoke Plains Miwok were said to dwell chiefly on the east side of the Sacramento, while Valley Nisenan speakers were assigned to the west bank as well as the Feather River (Hale 1846:630). This distribution probably reflects the removal of Patwin and Plains Miwok from west of the Sacramento River to the missions, and the abandonment of the lower Sacramento River by 1841. Although there is no question that the heart of Nisenan territory was also east of the Sacramento River, the fact that Sama and Pusune Nisenan still actively exploited the west bank of the river may have influenced Sutter's choice of a boundary.

Differences in class, types, and frequencies of artifacts from archaeological excavations indicate that the cultural boundary between the Cosumnes and Sutter districts passed between Sac-85 and Sac-29 (see tribelet 1). Since no ecological change can explain these differences, it seems reasonable to correlate this cultural boundary with the shift from Miwok to Nisenan language which in historic times was represented by the boundary between the Hulpumne Miwok and Sama Nisenan.

As fully discussed in Chapter 5, historical data support Plains Miwok occupation of the entire valley drainage of the Cosumnes River until 1844. The Newachumne, Shalachmushumne, Amuchamne, and Lopotsimne can be placed as aboriginal occupants in the territory also claimed by Valley and Foothill Nisenan. The Valley Nisenan claim appears to be based solely on the short-lived intrusion, prompted by Sutter, of the Yuseumne tribelet between 1844 and 1847. Foothill Nisenan occupation was also a late intrusion, beginning with the Yumhui in 1847, and accelerated by displacement of the Foothill Nisenan occupants of the upper American River drainage which followed the great influx of gold miners in 1850. Withdrawal of the Amuchamne to Elk Grove after 1850, and the long-continued use of Nisenan laborers in mining around Michigan Bar and on the Sheldon and other ranches would account for the strong belief on the part of Foothill Nisenan descendants that their ancestors had controlled the upper Cosumnes River.

It is thus probable that the aboriginal Plains Miwok-Valley Nisenan boundary followed the watershed of the American River. As shown on Map 3, the



northern boundary of Plains Miwok territory began where Putah Creek entered Yolo Basin, crossed the Sacramento about six miles south of the mouth of the American River, ran east across the plains just north of Morrison Creek, and turned slightly north to include the drainage of Deer Creek.

### The Eastern Boundary

Only Merriam (1907:344, 349), Barrett (1908:354-355), and Kroeber (1925: Pl. 37) distinguished the boundary between the Plains and Northern Miwok. Each placed the limit of Plains Miwok territory near the foothills, but the easternmost tribelets were uncertain and Foothill Nisenan claims to the upper Cosumnes drainage were mentioned by Barrett and Kroeber. Gifford (1927:251-252) and Beals (1933: Map 1, 338), working with Nisenan informants, accepted the Foothill Nisenan claims to the border region as far south as Dry Creek (Carbondale and Ione, respectively). As discussed in Chapter 5, these Foothill Nisenan claims appear to involve only the Wapumne Nisenan tribelet, and rest largely on the single informant, William Joseph. Documents of the Sutter period indicate that the aboriginal territory of the Wapumne was in the American River drainage near Shingle Springs, and available ethnographic data support a movement of the Wapumne southward via Latrobe and Palama to the Dry Creek region between 1850 and 1890. Prior to displacements of the Sutter period and the Gold Rush, the Northern Miwok probably held the entire drainage of the upper Cosumnes River, including the North Fork. As in the valley, the Foothill Nisenan probably controlled only the American River drainage before the arrival of Sutter.

Hale and the Gatten census support the identification of the Lopotsimne as the easternmost Plains Miwok tribelet on the upper Cosumnes River. Gatten and the New Helvetia Diary indicate that the foothills to the east were controlled by the Yuleyumne Northern Miwok prior to the intrusion of the Wapumne Foothill Nisenan.

Three Northern Miwok villages (probably tribelet centers) can be placed on the main tributaries of upper Dry Creek (Merriam 1907:344-345; Kroeber 1925: Pl. 37, nos. 19, 20, 22). Chakanesu and Upusuni are the only Northern Miwok villages which have locations west of the 500 foot contour but probably do represent settlements occupied before the move of the Locolomne Plains Miwok (see tribelet 21) from the lower Mokelumne River to Jackson Creek about 1841. Dry Creek had an intermittent flow of water, so valley groups could not have occupied its banks in permanent villages during the summer. The Northern Miwok claim to upper Dry Creek, above the mouth of Jackson Creek, can therefore be considered aboriginal, since the occupants of winter villages in the Ione and Jackson Valleys could shift to foothill springs during the summer.

Gilbert, Hale, Smith and the Mission San Jose baptismal register support the identification of the Machemne as the easternmost Plains Miwok tribelet on the Mokelumne River (see tribelet 28). Although the ethnographers placed the Plains Miwok boundary west of Camanche, the nearest Northern Miwok village which has been recorded is 15 miles east of Camanche. Since Gilbert indicated that Machemne territory reached nearly to Campo Seco, it seems probable that Plains Miwok control extended through the low hills along this large river to about the 500 foot contour.



As shown on Map 3, it is probable that the eastern boundary of Plains Miwok territory extended from the Deer Creek drainage to just north of the Calaveras River, close to the 500 foot contour except for a six mile westward contraction on upper Dry Creek.

### The Southeastern Boundary

The southern boundary of Plains Miwok territory has always been the most controversial, and the nature of the available evidence warrants separate discussion of the southeastern and southwestern portions of the linguistic boundary, divided approximately at the San Joaquin River. The early placement of the Miwok-Yokuts boundary at the Fresno River by Powers and Powell was based on incomplete data for missionized valley groups. Powers merely extended the Southern Miwok boundary in the Sierra across the San Joaquin Valley; he had little if any contact with Plains Miwok or Northern Valley Yokuts. Powell (1891) was aware that the Yatchicumne vocabulary recorded by Pinart was Yokuts ("Mariposan") but he assigned too little territory to the 11 tribelets listed by Pinart. Likewise, there is no support whatever for Latta's (1949) inclusion of the Cosumnes and Mokelumne inhabitants as speakers of the Yokuts language. Latta (1949: end sheets) confused the Mokelumne and Calaveras Rivers on his map. Miwok vocabularies have been recorded for both the Cosumne and Muqueleme (see Chapter 5). The village of "Tchikimisi", placed on the lower Cosumnes River by Latta, was actually a Northern Miwok settlement on the North Fork of the Cosumnes River (Merriam 1907:344 "Chikkemeze"). Kroeber (1925: Pl. 37, no. 68) assigned this village to the Foothill Nisenan, probably on the basis of location. As indicated in Chapter 5, the Northern Miwok probably controlled the North Fork of the Cosumnes River prior to 1850, so Merriam was more likely correct. The pertinent dispute involving the southeastern boundary centers on Merriam's classification of the Chilamne, Yatchicumne, Siakumne, and Tauhalame as Plains Miwok whereas Kroeber identified them as Yokuts; Merriam placed the southeastern boundary of the Plains Miwok at the Tuolumne River while Barrett and Kroeber placed it at the Calaveras River. Unless qualified, further reference to Yokuts or Northern Yokuts pertains to the North Valley Yokuts (Kroeber 1959a). Kroeber's original Northern Valley Yokuts dialects of 1907 are now designated as Central Valley Yokuts (Kroeber 1959b:274).

Oddly enough, the crucial ethnographic data appear to have involved the same two informants, one a Chilamne (Jesus Oliver) and the other a "Tawalimni" (Charley Gomez). The affiliation of the Chilamne with the Yokuts (Kroeber 1908:371) is based on four words and one three word phrase of indubitable Yokuts recalled by Jesus Oliver in 1906. Oliver was then living with Muqueleme and Northern Miwok at Buena Vista (then called Ritchey), near Ione (Kroeber 1959a:3); he was married to a Gold Hill Nisenan (Merriam 1966:117). Cazoos Oliver was the Americanization of his Spanish name, Jesus Alvarez (Kroeber 1959a:3); both Kroeber and Merriam referred to him as Oliver so this name will be retained herein. Oliver was a relative of the Yatchicumne Trinidad (Loc. cit.), so he was probably born in the Livermore Valley near Mission San Jose after secularization in 1836. Oliver had forgotten most of his native Yokuts language after learning Muqueleme Miwok, but claimed to be of the "Chulamni people" who once lived near the mouth of the Calaveras River just north of Stockton; his parents had told him about three villages of this group, which included Yachik (i.e., Yatchicumne) near Stockton, as well as



Wana and Kui (Kroeber 1908:377).<sup>49</sup> Thereafter, in seven publications from 1906 to 1959, Kroeber always maintained that the Chilamne ("Chulamni") were a Yokuts tribe,<sup>50</sup> that the Yatchicumne were only the "Chulamni" inhabitants of the subsidiary village of Yachik, and that Cholbon ("Cholovon") was a synonymous variant of "Chulamni" (Kroeber 1906a:659; 1906b:65; 1907:311; 1908:370-371, 375, 380; 1925:485-486; 1959a: 3-4; 1959b:269-273). Even though Trinidad identified herself as from Yachik, Kroeber (1959a:3) labeled her Yokuts vocabulary "Chulamni."

Oliver also told Kroeber (1908:373, 375) about Charley Gomez, a "Tawalimni" Yokuts then living at Knights Ferry on the upper Stanislaus River; Oliver was uncertain (and in error), but thought that the Tauhalame originally had lived west of the San Joaquin River opposite Stockton. In 1908, Barrett found Gomez at Jamestown (foothills near Sonora, in Central Miwok territory), and obtained a mixed Yokuts-Miwok vocabulary; Gomez indicated that he was a "Tawalimni," that his permanent home was at Knights Ferry, and that the Tauhalame "language is that of Knights Ferry and the plains to the west" (Kroeber 1908:373-374; 1959a:5, vocabulary F).

Merriam (1966:60, 115-118; 1955:129)<sup>51</sup> interviewed Jesus Oliver in 1903 and 1905, but interpreted his statements to mean that the "Chilumne" were Plains Miwok ("Mewko") rather than Yokuts,<sup>52</sup> and that Oliver himself was a "Mokalumne" (he could speak this dialect). A list hand written by Merriam (ms. 3) of the "Tribes and subtribes in Mokalumne language" obtained from "Casus Oliver" includes locations for the "Chilumne" and "Tuolumne" in addition to the Miwok "Mokalumne," "Lalumne," "Mokozumne," and "Hulpoomne;" note the absence of the Yatchicumne. In 1907 Merriam placed the "Chilumne" on the Calaveras River as a Plains Miwok "tribe;" although aware that Kroeber had referred to the Chilamne as a Yokuts tribe in 1906, Merriam (1907:351, fn. 1) noted that "a survivor of the tribe [Jesus Oliver, ms. 3] tells me that their language was almost identical with that of the Tuolumne." Merriam's source for the Yatchicumne and Siakumne appears to have been Gilbert, who was either the author or adviser for the work cited by Merriam (and herein) as Anonymous 1890. The boundaries which he showed for the Siakumne approximate the post-1829 tribal territory. His 1907 placement of the Yatchicumne (and his 1939 expansion of their territory) reflects a misinterpretation of the annual trips made by survivors of this tribelet between Pleasanton and Stockton in the post-mission period as indicative of aboriginal residence west of the San Joaquin River (Gilbert 1879:13). The 1824 Map and various diaries indicate that the Yatchicumne held the vicinity of Stockton aboriginally, and at least five other tribelets held the territory assigned to the Yatchicumne by Merriam in 1907. In 1934 Merriam (ms. 2) found a Yatchicumne survivor, Joe Guzman, living at Niles, who was able to remember six words of his language (one was Yokuts, one was Miwok, one was Spanish, and three were unique); he also said the "Mount Diablo tribe" [Bay Miwok] spoke a different language. Merriam (1967:368-369) first met Guzman in 1910 near Pleasanton but merely noted that he spoke a "Mewko" dialect.

It is also possible that Merriam interviewed Charley Gomez, for his notes (ms. 1) refer to a "Towalumne" who was raised among the "Mokalumne" but was then living among the Northern Miwok at Buena Vista. Since Jesus Oliver could speak Muqueleme, Merriam's Tauhalame informant (probably Gomez) had been raised among the Muqueleme, and Charley Gomez gave Barrett a mixed



Yokuts-Miwok vocabulary, it seems reasonable to infer that Merriam concluded from these two informants that the Chilamne and Tauhalame were Plains Miwok groups rather than Yokuts, and therefore the intermediate Yatchicumne and Siakumne must also have been Plains Miwok. Merriam probably felt that this conclusion was supported by the fact that his southern boundary for Plains Miwok would reduce an anomaly in valley-foothills relationships: for all other Penutian languages the contiguous valley and foothill representatives belonged to the same linguistic family; if Plains Miwok extended to the Tuolumne River, adjacent to the Central Miwok, only the Southern Miwok would remain as aberrant neighbors of the Central Valley Yokuts.

Such does not appear to have been the case, however. Kroeber (1959a) assembled 11 Valley Yokuts vocabularies<sup>53</sup> from scattered groups who once lived between Stockton and the Merced River. Unfortunately, the associated data were often meager in terms of parentage and aboriginal tribelet of the informant. The frequent shifts of residence between polyglot, post-mission villages situated in former Costanoan, Yokuts, Plains Miwok, Northern Miwok and Central Miwok territory provided opportunities for language change which have resulted in such mixed vocabularies that no firm reliance can be placed on the ethnographic evidence alone. Nonetheless, the historical documents and archaeological record leave no doubt that the aboriginal Yokuts-Miwok boundary fell between the Calaveras and Mokelumne Rivers.

A significant change in language at the Mokelumne River was noted by Father Muñoz, diarist for the Moraga expedition of 1806, before missionization had disrupted aboriginal settlement. Various factors indicate that the change from Yokuts to Miwok was represented. However, Cutter (1947:53; 1950:107; Moraga 1957:3, 31, endnote 31) consistently identified the "Rio de la Pasi6n" of Muñoz as the Cosumnes (even though he agreed that this was Moraga's designation for the Mokelumne River in 1808), and thereby attributed the language change to the shift from Miwok to Maidu. A brief review of Moraga's route is therefore necessary. The 1806 expedition left from Mission San Juan Bautista (northeast of Monterey), neophytes of which spoke only Costanoan and Yokuts. No Plains Miwok had yet been baptized in 1806, so no Miwok interpreters would have been available. Moraga crossed the San Joaquin, Merced, and Tuolumne Rivers; on Oct. 3 (Cook 1960:249-250), the expedition had extensive verbal contact with the "Taulamne," and the details given allow identification of the "Rio Guadalupe" as the Stanislaus River (Cook 1955a:68). The language spoken via interpreters was Yokuts, as discussed under the Tauhalame below.

On Oct. 4, 1806, the Moraga expedition crossed a large, dry stream ("Arroyo de San Francisco"), obviously the Calaveras River in autumn, and next reached "a river of great volume, already discovered..." and named "La Pasi6n" by an earlier expedition (Cook 1960:250). Clearly, Muñoz had reached the Mokelumne River, but mistook it for the Calaveras, which had been named "Pasion" by Sal in 1796 (and by Rivera in 1776 if Sal was correct) when winter rains had filled its banks (Cook 1960:242). At the "Pasi6n" (Mokelumne River) Muñoz noted that "the language is totally different from the one we left behind us" (Cook 1960:250), hence dialects are not involved. Since no interpreter was available, the expedition turned back.

No Indians were referred to by Muñoz on the dry Calaveras River, but



other data support Yokuts occupation of this tributary aboriginally. The archaeological collection from the historic site SJo-105, just north of the lower Calaveras River, yielded an artifact complex typical of the Stockton district in the Mission period, as well as during protohistoric and late prehistoric phases. Numerous typological relationships link the site with identifiable villages of the Yatchicumne, Pasasime, and Nochochomne tribelets (Map 2) rather than with the Mokelumne River sites of the Cosumnes district. Archaeological evidence therefore supports the occupation of the Calaveras River by a Yokuts population, but it is less certain whether the site represented a subsidiary village of the Chilamne or Yatchicumne tribelet.

This uncertainty results from the rarity of historical reference to the Chilamne. As indicated above, Kroeber's Chilamne informant placed this group near the mouth of the Calaveras River, and the same Jesus Oliver gave Merriam the tribelet boundaries which included both banks of the Calaveras River as far east as Bellota. However, Chilamne does not appear as a named group or village in Abella's 1811 diary, Duran's 1817 diary, or on the 1824 Map. This, together with the fact that the small sample of female personal names display only Miwok endings, might indicate that the Chilamne were intrusive Plains Miwok who moved from the Mokelumne River to the Calaveras River after 1828, when the Muqueleme expanded their territorial control southward to include the depopulated Calaveras River (see tribelet 23). A number of factors suggest otherwise.

a. The baptismal dates for the Chilamne are consistent with a Calaveras River placement, since they fall between those associated with the Yatchicumne and the Muqueleme. The Chilamne furnished 81 neophytes between 1811 and 1835, mostly in 1827. The Yatchicumne population was exhausted between 1814 and 1828 (mostly in 1818). Although the range of dates (1817-1836) for the Muqueleme is the same as for the Chilamne, the peak frequency of the Muqueleme was delayed until 1834. In addition, all but six Chilamne baptisms occurred before 1829, while only 25 (out of a total of 143) Muqueleme were baptized during the same period. In view of the interrelationships between the Chilamne and Muqueleme (see tribelet 23), it is probable that the Chilamne resisted missionization and, after 1829, the surviving non-baptized Chilamne joined the Muqueleme on the Mokelumne River. The placement of the "Chulamni" south of the Yatchicumne by Latta (1949: end sheets) has no ethnographic or historical support.

b. It is possible that the tribelet center was one of the three unnamed villages referred to by Abella as he passed the vicinity of Stockton in 1811 (Cook 1960:263, Oct. 23). Abella overestimated distances and presented a mixture of his own observations and what the Indian guides told him, so his statements can be variously interpreted. Moving north from Coybos (Map 2), Abella referred to three populous villages (about 300 inhabitants each) at some distance from each other, of which he visited one. To judge from Duran's 1817 diary and the 1824 Map, two of these villages were Pasasime (visited?) and Yatchicumne. The third may have been Nochochomne, but Chilamne would have been closer. Two other rancherias seen later on the same day were probably fishing camps rather than Yatchicumne and Chilamne, since Abella stated that the fleeing Indians had hastily removed their houses as well as their possessions. Permanent villages could not have been dismantled in this fashion.



A location on the lower Calaveras River rather than on the San Joaquin itself could account for the absence of Chilamne in Duran's diary and on the 1824 Map. There had been no Chilamne baptisms before 1818, and only 18 neophytes had been baptized by 1824. A confused and misplaced union of the Calaveras and Mokelumne River appears on the 1824 Map, so it is clear that the priests at Mission San Jose still had little knowledge of this peripheral region east of the San Joaquin River.

c. That the Chilamne spoke a Yokuts dialect is supported by the few words recalled by Jesus Oliver (Kroeber 1908:371). The near loss of his native tongue would be quite expectable after years of residence with Miwok; the possibility that both his parents were Miwok but learned Yokuts at Mission San Jose, and came to think of the latter as their native tongue, is much less plausible.

d. An aboriginal linguistic boundary between the lower Calaveras River and Stockton Channel would be most unusual, because need for water would require that the tribelet centers of two different language families be in close proximity. There is no question that the Yatchicumne spoke Yokuts and their tribelet center can be identified as SJo-80 (Map 2) at Stockton. Since the Calaveras River had an intermittent flow, no permanent villages could be maintained on the middle portion of the river during dry summers. Moraga encountered no Indians when he crossed the dry river bed in the fall of 1806. In January, 1828, Smith traversed some 10 miles of the middle section of the flowing river without mentioning any villages along its banks (Sullivan 1934:56). Most of the Chilamne had probably gone to Mission San Jose by this time, but the tribelet center near the mouth of the river should still have been occupied because 14 Chilamne were baptized later in 1828. The major village of the tribelet which occupied the Calaveras River must perforce have been on the lower section of the river, close to the San Joaquin River. Had this tribelet been Miwok, the inhabitants would have been at a distinct disadvantage, because a major Yokuts tribelet center was only two miles to the south, while the nearest Miwok ally would have been 12 miles distant to the north on the Mokelumne River.

The weight of evidence thus favors a Yokuts affiliation for the Chilamne, and the inclusion of the Calaveras River within Yokuts territory. As indicated under tribelet 23, there was close interaction with the Muqueleme Miwok, and the Miwok character of Chilamne personal names is probably the result of intermarriage between the two tribelets.

The other Yokuts tribelets shown on Map 2 have been assigned to this linguistic family on the basis of vocabularies, personal names, and/or location. As poorly recorded by the Frenchman Pinart (1894:79; translated in Merriam 1955:134) in 1880, a Yatchicumne informant living at Pleasanton provided a Yokuts vocabulary and claimed the following groups spoke the same dialect: "Jacikamne" (Yatchicumne), "Taniamne" (Tauquimne?), "Pasasamne" (Pasasime), "Nututamne" (Nochochomne), "Helutamne" (Jalalon), "Xosmitamne" (Jusmite), "Colovomnes" (Cholbon), "Tammukamne" (Tamcan), and "Sanaiamne" (Chilamne village of Wana?); this dialect was only slightly different from those of the "Lakkisamnes" (Laquisimas) and "Tuolumnes" (Tauhalame). Both careless recording on the part of Pinart and typographical errors are responsible for the large number of unique variants, but the only synonymies



which are quite doubtful are those proposed for "Taniamne" and "Sanaiamne." The Pinart list includes all Yokuts tribelets in the Delta mentioned in historical documents except the Tauquimne, Chilamne, and Coybos. Since the informant was a Yatchicumne, she must have been familiar with the first two tribelets, so it is possible that Pinart heard Tauquimne as "Tauiamne" (misread by the printer as "Taniamne"), while "Sanaiamne" might refer to the Chilamne village of Wana mentioned by Kroeber (1908:377).

The Pinart list poses the recurrent problem of distinguishing between what the informant said and what the ethnographer did with the data. Pinart titled the article "On The Tcholovones Of Chorris" (*sic*) and was interested in the identity of the Cholbon who were mentioned by Choris, a confused visitor to San Francisco Bay in 1816 (Mahr 1932). Pinart stated that "Colovomnes" was a better rendering than that of Choris. However, the mission register entries are consistently Cholbon (or "Cholvon") and Pinart's -omne ending is an anomaly in his list which emphasizes an -amne ending. Since the tribelet names appear in the mission registers with variable suffixes, one can only wonder whether Pinart or the informant was responsible for the unusual consistency. Pinart's Yatchicumne vocabulary (clearly identified as such) has been labeled "Tcholovones" by Kroeber (1959a:3, vocabulary B), but as discussed under Cholbon below, there is no support for his underlying assumptions.

A second Yokuts vocabulary was obtained from another Yatchicumne informant by Kroeber (1959a:3, vocabulary A), although this time he labeled it "Chulamni." The tribelet center of Yatchik (identifiable archaeologically as SJo-80) is firmly located at Stockton according to the 1824 Map, the Duran expedition of 1817 (Cook 1960:275, Oct. 23), Pinart (1894:79), and Gilbert (1879:13). Another Yokuts vocabulary (Kroeber 1959a:4, vocabulary C; 1908:372-373), said to be representative of the vicinity of Lathrap probably refers to the Coybos tribelet, a group which had Yokuts personal names and can be located from Abella's 1811 visit (Cook 1960:263, Oct. 22) and the 1824 Map. Lathrap is just southwest of SJo-83 on Map 2, herein; Abella implied that the tribelet center was directly on the San Joaquin River so SJo-83 was probably a subsidiary Coybos village.

The Tauquimne personal names had Yokuts endings and the tribelet center was probably near the mouth of Bear Creek to judge from statements made by Abella in 1811 (Cook 1960:264, Oct. 25), Duran in 1817 (Cook 1960:275, May 23), the 1824 Map, and the baptismal dates. As discussed in Chapter 4, the Tauquimne were needlessly confused by Schenck (1926) with hypothetical fugitives of the Karkin Costanoan tribelet (see endnote 15).

The Pasasime (with Yokuts personal names) were visited by Duran in 1817 (Cook 1960:275, May 23). His location a short distance east of the San Joaquin River agrees with the historic site SJo-82. On the 1824 Map the name appears on the west bank directly opposite Duran's placement, but the mapped location was probably an approximation.

The Nochochomne (with Yokuts personal names) were referred to by Duran (Cook 1960:275, May 23) as living in the middle of the tules. A similar location is shown on the 1824 Map so the tribelet center can be reasonably



identified as SJo-86. Kroeber (1925:485) felt that Pinart's "Nututamne" merely meant any "upstream people" in Yokuts; even if this was the meaning of Nochochomne (also rendered as "Nototomne" in the mission register), there can be no question but that a specific tribelet bore this name.

The Jalalon (with Yokuts personal names) were placed on the east side of Old River on the 1824 Map but no mounds are evident in this marshland. Abella in 1811 (Cook 1960:262, Oct. 19) mentioned unnamed village sites, probably on the west bank, in the general vicinity of Orwood. Although perhaps not the tribelet center, the historic site CCo-141 was probably occupied by the Jalalon.

The aboriginal tribelet center of the Cholbon (represented by Yokuts personal names) was probably on the south bank of Tom Paine Slough, northwest of Banta. Pinart placed it "nearly where the little town of Banta is today" (Merriam 1955:134). To judge from the Abella diary of 1811 (Cook 1960:262, Oct. 19-21, misread as "Bolbones"), the tribelet (tribal?) territory extended westward along Old River to just west of Bethany. It is clear that there were multiple villages, of which Aupemis was on the north bank of Tom Paine Slough according to Viader in 1810 (Cook 1960:258, Aug. 20). Cholbon (also called "Pescadero" because of intensive fishing) was also mentioned in Viader's second diary (Cook 1960:259, Oct. 20-21). A location on Tom Paine Slough for the tribelet center provides the best agreement between details given in the three diaries and the lakes and sloughs shown on an early map of 1850, before levees were built (Carson 1950: end map). I have seen no evidence to support the placement of "Pescadero" on the north bank of Old River northeast of Bethany (Schenck 1926: Fig. 1; Cook 1955a: Map 6). While Abella's leagues mean little, his route can be followed sufficiently well so as to leave no doubt that he was near the vicinity of Stockton on October 23 (he had visited Coybos the previous day and was floating downstream); Cook's (1955a:58) inclusion of the three villages said to contain 900 persons with the Cholbon is therefore not acceptable. In addition, the "Bolbones" group of Cook (1955a:57-58) is a confused mixture of Cholbon, Chilamne and the Wolwon Bay Miwok, widely separated and distinct tribelets. He followed Kroeber in assuming the synonymy of Cholbon-Chilamne, but none of the data supports this identification. In his last statement Kroeber (1959a:4) conjectured that "Cholovomne" was a post-mission refuge settlement, and that "Tcholovon" (and similar variants) was the Costanoan rendering of "Chulamni." None of these interpretations is supported by the historical data. The "Tcholovon-Cholovomne" group of variants are French renderings for they appear only in sources derived from the French originals of Choris, Chamisso, and Pinart (Mahr 1932:89, 99; Pinart 1894:79). Choris and Chamisso obtained their tribelet names from the mission priests while Pinart's informant was a Yatchicumne Yokuts; there is no need to assume any Costanoan intermediary. The consistent variant in Spanish documents of the mission period (often obtained from Cholbon informants) was Cholbon ("Cholvon").

Kroeber's speculation that Cholbon was a post-mission settlement was based on the fact that Pinart's Yatchicumne informant (Maria) and her Laquisimas husband had both lived at Cholbon in addition to their native villages. However, Maria in 1880 stated specifically that Cholbon "had long since disappeared" (Pinart 1894:80; Merriam 1955:134). The Yatchicumne (ex-



hausted by missionization) are known to have remained near Pleasanton (where Pinart found Maria) after secularization, but survivors made annual visits to Stockton (site of their former tribelet center) as late as 1852 (Gilbert 1879:13). Gilbert did not include Cholbon (or the town of Banta) as an American period Indian settlement, nor did he obtain any recollection of the group. Since Maria claimed to be the last Yatchicumne survivor there can be little doubt that she lived at Cholbon prior to 1836, and probably before 1824 (date of the last Cholbon baptism).

Tamcan, Jusmite and more southerly groups on the San Joaquin River (all represented by Yokuts personal names) can be located from the two Viader diaries of 1810 (Cook 1960:258-260), together with baptismal dates. The only tribelets which warrant further comment with reference to Miwok problems are the Siakumne and Tauhalame ("Tuolumne") whom Merriam (1907) claimed were Plains Miwok rather than Yokuts. Merriam (1907:351) placed the Siakumne between the Calaveras and Stanislaus Rivers, although he assigned the Chilamne to the Calaveras River itself. His brief statement was probably derived from Gilbert (Anonymous 1890:25) because this group was not referred to by Jesus Oliver or Pinart, and the name Siakumne does not appear in the Sutter documents.<sup>54</sup> From references to Chief Estanislao, it is clear that Gilbert (1879:12; Angel 1882:34) equated the "Siyakumna" with the Laquisimas, but other documents suggest that this was a late simplification. Siakumne may be an Americanization of the "Zicomne" tribelet, a few members of which were taken to Mission San Jose (eight baptisms between 1834-36; also one "Zicatme" in 1834), but no linkage with Chief Jose Jesus has been found; Merriam's spelling will be retained as the standard form herein.

Actually, the largest tribelet on the Stanislaus River during the Mission Period was the Laquisimas, represented by 127 baptisms at Mission San Jose (1811-1825, plus seven in 1834; the name is spelled "Lacquisemne"),<sup>55</sup> and 17 baptisms at Mission Santa Clara (1816-1823). Their appearance at both missions indicates that at least one village (probably under the headman Cipriano) on the lower Stanislaus River fell within the territorial jurisdiction of Mission Santa Clara. Unfortunately, only one village was located in the historical documents, associated with the revolt of Estanislao in 1828-1829. This well fortified site was on the south side of the Stanislaus River (named thereafter for the Indian chief), just east of Oakdale (Cook 1962:206, note 18); Vallejo's reference to two channels suggests an island (*Ibid.*:176). Local tradition favored a placement near Salida (Elias 1924:169),<sup>56</sup> but the documents support Cook. Father Duran identified Estanislao<sup>56</sup> as a "Lacquisamnes" from Mission San Jose while his subchief Cipriano was from Mission Santa Clara (Cook 1962:169). Sanchez claimed that 12 "heathen chiefs" supported Estanislao (Cook 1962:174, 175), but none were identified (see endnote 57). Yokuts resistance to Mission Santa Clara was extreme thereafter; no baptisms were recorded in 1829 or 1833, and only 10 were baptized in intervening years. Hence, baptismal dates do not provide meaningful curves for some 21 tribelets (mostly represented by only one or two baptisms) which were recorded between 1831 and 1839. The seven identifiable tribelets in this group range from the Olonapatme Miwok of Laguna Creek through the "Chauchiles del Sierra" to the Hoyima near Madera, so the entire eastern San Joaquin drainage in the valley and foothills may be represented by the 14 unique tribelet names.



Equestrian Indian raiders from the San Joaquin Valley plagued the coastal settlements during the 1830's and early 1840's (Cook 1962:186-202; Cf. Broadbent 1974; Beck and Haase 1974:23), but few specific details were recorded. Nameless "Indians" from the Tulares were usually blamed, and ranchers increasingly organized their own unrecorded punitive forays which often pursued horse thieves into the Sierra foothills. The Laquisimas remained a viable group as late as 1847. Palomares<sup>57</sup> placed two villages on the Stanislaus River in 1833 (Cook 1962:202), and Amador noted that Indians kept a horse stockade on the river in 1837 (Ibid.:197). The Laquisimas, Tauhalame, and Ochejamne (Miwok) may have jointly attacked a Mexican force in Napa Valley in 1840 (Vallejo ms. 2:86, but see endnote 22 herein). Bryant (1849:320) recruited 18 (only 17 were listed) members of the Chapaiseme, Laquisimas, and Tauhalame tribes for the Bear Flag Revolt on Nov. 18, 1846, at the ford of the San Joaquin River east of Tracy.<sup>58</sup> The Gatten census of 1846 listed only three missionized Yokuts tribes: "Lakisimne," "Shonomnes", and "Tawalamnes" (Heizer and Hester 1970:96). The chiefs of these three tribes arrived at New Helvetia from the Stanislaus River on May 22, 1847 (Sutter 1939:45), but the first two groups then disappeared from the historical record. Contemporary documents thus cast doubt on the primary position of Jose Jesus and the Siakumne tribe in the 1840's.

Much of Gilbert's (1879:12, 15, 16) information was obtained from Captain Weber (founder of Stockton), and may reflect the amalgamation of tribelets which occurred in the terminal 1840's. Weber claimed that he first met Jose Jesus at New Helvetia during the winter of 1841-42, and he attempted to make a treaty with Jesus in 1843 to protect Gulnac's land grant (Campo de las Francesas, which included the future site of Stockton). No other sources support the "indefinite but undisputed supremacy and authority" attributed to Jose Jesus at this early date, and Gulnac had difficulty keeping settlers on his land grant (Lindsay was killed by foothill Indians in 1845). Sutter (1939:68) first identified Jose Jesus as chief of the "Chapeysimney" when he arrived with the "Gotaplanimnes" chief on Aug. 10, 1847, which agrees with the statement by Gilbert (1879:12) that Jose Jesus' village at Knights Ferry was called "Chapaircy." During the terminal 1840's Jose Jesus did associate himself most closely with Weber at Stockton. By 1851, still living at Knights Ferry, "Kossus" had emerged as the dominant chief of the Stanislaus River (Barbour, McKee, and Wozencraft (1853:57), controlling 30 unidentified "bands."<sup>59</sup> However, other headmen of the "Sagewomnes" (Siakumne), "Chappahsims" (Chapaiseme), and "Cotoplanemis" (Cotuplanimne) signed Treaty E (Heizer 1972:44), so some tribelet distinctions were still maintained. These three tribelets were vaccinated in 1851 (Ryer 1852:20-21). In 1854 there were 250 Indians living at Knights Ferry ("Dents Ferry") plus 100 living elsewhere on the Stanislaus River (Heizer 1974b:23), but white settlement had already altered tribelet cohesion. Knights Ferry remained the principal Indian settlement in the northern San Joaquin Valley into the early 1900's, where Barrett and other ethnographers found a polyglot refuge community.

In summary, the historical documents provide little support for the single Siakumne tribe of Merriam and Gilbert aboriginally. Mission records, Sutter, and the 1851 Treaty E support the existence of at least four tribelets on the Stanislaus River: Laquisimas, Cotuplanimne, Siakumne ("Zicomne"), and Chapaiseme. Perhaps the "Shonomnes" should be included, but the Mission Santa Clara baptismal dates from "Sunomna" (1823-1827) favor a Tuolumne River placement. Jose Jesus, resident chief of the Chapaiseme at Knights Ferry,



emerged as the dominant chief in the American period.

The Tauhalame ("Tuolumne," "Tawalimni") have been associated with both the Stanislaus and Tuolumne Rivers, but the weight of evidence favors the view that their aboriginal territory comprised the valley drainage of the Tuolumne River. The "main" Tauhalame village had three distinct locations in the early diaries, providing one indication that a tribal rather than tribelet designation may be represented. The earliest reference to the "Taulamne" (also listed as "Tahualamne") was given in the Muñoz diary of the Moraga expedition of 1806 (Cook 1960:249-250, Oct. 3; 254). The details provided, including the cliff location, allow a firm placement on the south side of the Stanislaus ("Guadalupe") River opposite Knights Ferry, near the foothills (Cook 1955a:68; 1960:283, note 23).<sup>60</sup> Hence, Latta (1949:end sheets) placed the "Tuolumne" tribe on the Stanislaus River. However, such a peripheral location is not supported by the Tauhalame baptismal dates (1817-27) which indicate a location closer to the San Joaquin River. As indicated above, Knights Ferry was probably the tribelet center of the Chapaiseme ("Chapaircy") and the baptismal dates for "Chapaes" at Mission San Jose fall between 1827-1834; most were taken to Mission Santa Clara in 1834 (Chapaiseme). The missions were not drawing neophytes from the east edge of the San Joaquin Valley until after 1825. The "Zicomne" (Siakumne) first appeared at Mission San Jose in 1834 and 1836; the first Chauchila ("Chauchiles del Sierra Nevada," probably Southern Miwok) were baptized at Mission Santa Clara in 1834, and the first Cotuplanimne (Sutter's "Gotaplanimnes") appeared in 1837. Thus it is much more probable that the "Taulamne" of Muñoz in 1806 had fled (perhaps by way of Dry Creek) from the Tuolumne River and taken refuge in the impregnable bluffs near Knights Ferry. When the expedition crossed the Tuolumne ("Dolores") River on Oct. 1, Muñoz noted that the inhabitants had fled their villages (Cook 1960:249); at Knights Ferry only representatives would come down from the bluffs and poles were used by the Indians to reach inaccessible positions. The description is not that of a normal village. Indian interpreters from Mission San Juan Bautista had no difficulty communicating with the Tauhalame so Yokuts speech is indicated, as discussed under the Mokelumne River above.

All other early data support a location of the Tauhalame on their namesake river. Viader visited the "Taulames" village on his second expedition in 1810; while his various references are somewhat contradictory (Cook 1960:260, 286, notes 15, 16), a placement about six miles south of the mouth of the Tuolumne River and a short distance east of the San Joaquin River (near Brush Lake?) seems indicated. From this location it is also clear that Chief Bozenats, mentioned in Viader's first diary (Cook 1960:258, Aug. 21; 285, note 14), was chief of the "Taulames" in 1810. As mapped by Schenck (1926:133), "Taulames" should replace Bozenats and the single village should be shifted slightly southeast; the Bozenats of Cook (1955a: Map 6) should be east of the San Joaquin River.

The third recorded village of the "Tagualames" was placed on the north bank of the Tuolumne River by Piña in 1829 (Cook 1962:178, May 29-31), a short distance east of Waterford (*Ibid*:206, note 24; cf. note 18). No houses were mentioned for this fortified site, where the last battle with Estanislao occurred, but it would be close to the documented 1851 village of Chief Cornelius (see below).



That the Tauhalame originally occupied the lower Tuolumne River is all but proven by the fact that members of this tribe were baptized at Mission Santa Clara rather than at Mission San Jose. The jurisdictional boundary between these two missions (see endnote 16) after 1811 crossed the San Joaquin River between Tamcan and Tuguite (Map 2), and then crossed the Stanislaus River several miles above its mouth. Some 263 Tauhalame were taken to Mission Santa Clara between 1817 and 1827, while only a single "Tauilemne" female was baptized at Mission San Jose in 1829. As noted above, most of the Laquisimas, the dominant tribe on the lower Stanislaus River, were taken to Mission San Jose.

Documentation for the Mexican period is poor, but Peralta recovered horses from one recently abandoned village on the Tuolumne River (Cook 1962:202) in his sweep of the northern valley in 1833 (*Ibid.*:188, Nov. 10). Amador recovered horses from a Tuolumne River village in 1837, and pursued the inhabitants into the foothills (Cook 1962:197). In 1840 the Tauhalame and Laquisimas Yokuts reportedly joined the Ochejamne Miwok in a raid on Napa Valley (Vallejo ms. 2:86, but see endnote 22 herein). Castro (ms.:170) included the "Taulames" as horse thieves in his instructions to Gantt in 1845. The "Tawalamnes" appear in the Gatten census of 1846 (Heizer and Hester 1970:96), while Chief "Cornelio" of the "Tamalemneys" visited New Helvetia in 1847 with Stanislaus River groups (Sutter 1939:45). Chief Cornelius assisted Fremont near Roberts Ferry on the Tuolumne River in 1848 (Elias 1924:182; see endnote 60 herein), and was living in the same vicinity (Horr's Ranch) in 1851 (Barbour, McKee, and Wozencraft 1853:58). Chief Cornelius signed Treaty E at Knights Ferry on May 28, 1851, for the "Iou-ol-umnes," and was promised a special tract which included his village on the north side of the Tuolumne River (Heizer 1972:42). The tribe was vaccinated in June, 1851 (Ryer 1852:20). Some 350 Indians were still living on the Tuolumne River in 1854 (Heizer 1974b:23), but white settlement soon caused dispersal, especially to Knights Ferry where survivors were found by ethnographers in the early 1900's. In addition to the linguistic evidence favoring Yokuts speech provided by Moraga and Pinart, three Yokuts vocabularies were collected at Knights Ferry between 1860 and 1906 (Kroeber 1959a: vocabularies D, E, F); at least two of the informants claimed to be Tauhalame (Kroeber's "Tawalimni"). Hence, one may discount the claim made by Johnston (1860:407) that his Sierra Miwok vocabulary was representative of the language spoken by Chief Cornelius, and Merriam certainly erred in assigning the "Tuolumne" to the Plains Miwok.

It is therefore proposed that, as shown on Map 3, the aboriginal southeastern boundary between the Plains Miwok and Northern Valley Yokuts crossed the dry plains approximately midway between the Mokelumne and Calaveras Rivers, extending from the Delta marshland to the Sierra foothills. As discussed under tribelet 23 (Chapter 5), a readjusted boundary was established about 1830, after depopulation of the Delta by missionization, which retained significance for the native inhabitants until about 1848. By 1830 the Muqueleme Miwok had acquired control of former Chilamne Yokuts territory on the Calaveras River, and were rivals of equestrian Yokuts groups centered on the Stanislaus River.

#### The Southwestern Boundary

The linguistic affiliation of the occupants of the islands and adjacent banks at the juncture of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers has always been



uncertain. Powell (1891) divided the region among four of the Penutian families, with boundaries in the middle of the rivers; the Patwin ("Copehan") were assigned the north bank of the Sacramento, the Maidu ("Pujunan") were placed in the narrow strip between the Sacramento and the Cosumnes; the Miwok ("Moquelumnan") were confined to the region east of the Cosumnes and San Joaquin, and the Costanoan were assigned to the south and west banks of the San Joaquin (see Map 1a, herein). Merriam (1907) used the Sacramento as a northwestern boundary for the Miwok but placed three groups which he considered to be Plains Miwok on the islands and immediate banks of the San Joaquin River (see Map 1b, herein). Barrett (1908:Map 3) placed the Miwok boundary along the eastern edge of the Delta and showed virtually no contact with either the Sacramento or San Joaquin Rivers. Kroeber (1925) kept Barrett's southeastern boundary at the Calaveras River but extended Miwok territory westward to include the east bank of the Sacramento River; except for the north bank of the Calaveras River, the entire northern San Joaquin Valley was assigned to Yokuts (see Map 1c, herein). Only Merriam presented specific information pertinent to this section, but, as already discussed in Chapter 5, there is no support for his southern placement of the Guaypeme (tribelet 8) and Anizumne (tribelet 12) Miwok, while the mislocated Yatchicumne were Yokuts. By 1939, Merriam (1966:14) added the Saclan (actually Bay Miwok) and extended "Mewko" territory to San Francisco Bay; he also extended Yatchicumne territory west and south of Mt. Diablo. Heizer (1966: Maps 4, 5) revised Kroeber's and Merriam's placement of Saclan.

The historical documents provide the names of the tribelets which occupied this region at the mouth of the two great rivers and a clue as to the language spoken - the newly discovered Bay Miwok. In order to deal with the linguistic problem, it will be necessary to establish the aboriginal location of several distant tribelets, because Schenck and Cook misinterpreted the Spanish use of tribelet names for place names as indicative of native occupation. Schenck (1926:134-136, Fig. 1 and 2) relying on Kotzebue and Bancroft, placed the Chupcan ("Chupunes") at Carquinez Strait, and assigned the Karkin ("Tarquines," "Tarquimenes") to the south shore of Suisun Bay with an extension through the Delta islands between the correctly located Julpun and Ompin. As will become apparent, Schenck was misled by late sources and his placements of Karkin and Chupcan should be reversed. Schenck's placement of the Karkin was taken from Kotzebue, who sailed through Suisun Bay in 1824. With reference to the general region of this interior bay Kotzebue (1830:141) remarked that "no trace remains of a numerous race called "Korekines", by whom it was once inhabited". However, on the 1824 Map Carquinez Strait is designated estrecho de Karquin. Whether this place name or the remarks of an Indian pilot prompted Kotzebue's statement is not clear, but his comments are both too vague and too late to establish aboriginal occupation of the entire south shore of Suisun Bay by the Karkin. As discussed in Chapter 4 and endnote 15, the extension of Karkin ("Tarquimenes") territory into the Delta islands resulted from Schenck's confusion of the Karkin Costanoan with the Tauquimne Yokuts.

Cook (1955a:60-63; 1957:147) recognized the correct aboriginal relationship of the pertinent villages from his study of baptismal dates, but interpreted later references to mean that the Karkin had moved eastward to escape missionization; this move, he felt, pushed the Ompin to the north bank



of the Sacramento River, forcing the Chupcan to move southwest to former Karkin territory along Carquinez Strait. Cook also involved the Aguasto in this problem, as discussed below. Baptismal dates, Viader, Kotzebue, and the 1824 Map (and by inference Abella, Duran and Arguello) all indicate that the south shore of Carquinez Strait and Suisun Bay was depopulated after 1810, and no significant population remained at the mouth of the great rivers after 1812. Karkin and Chupcan are only place names on the 1824 Map; Ompin and Julpun appear as Christian villages, but the baptismal dates and diaries indicate that neophytes only returned to their native territory for periodic visits after 1812. As discussed in Chapter 4, runaways took refuge in more distant villages but there is no certain evidence for the movement of an organized tribelet until the Sutter period: the possible shift of the Julpun tribelet center, to be discussed later, did not involve territorial change. The relative positions of pertinent tribelets at first contact (reflected in the earliest baptismal dates) are in full agreement with the locations shown on the 1824 Map. Cook's postulation that the Chupcan moved closer to the missions hardly agrees with his major thesis of Indian withdrawal before Spanish military pressure.

Of critical importance to the linguistic interpretation to be presented herein is the location of the Karkin Costanoan tribelet. That the Karkin spoke a distinct language of the Costanoan family is indicated by the vocabulary collected by Arroyo in 1821. Beeler (1955:202) identified Arroyo's vocabulary as a "divergent form of Northern Costanoan." Merriam and Gatschet also recognized that Karkin, though Costanoan, was distinct from the adjacent Huchiun on the basis of Arroyo's vocabularies from both groups (unpublished notes of C. H. Merriam on the "Olhonean," filed with the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley). Kroeber (1925:356, 466) was not familiar with Arroyo's manuscripts and wrongly assigned Karkin to Southern Patwin. In addition to Karkin, the tribelet center, two subsidiary villages of the tribelet can be identified in the Mission Dolores baptismal register (Merriam 1968:18, 24): Turis and Suyusuyu. Turis ("Juris") is referred to as "on the other shore" and assigned to the familia or nacion Karquin. Suyusuyu is placed on the Estero del Carquines, and will be considered synonymous with "Sutsunu," given as an alternate name for the Karkin by Arroyo (Beeler 1961:192). The last Karkin was baptized in 1810, and no later diarist mentioned seeing an inhabited village (or even a living Indian) on Carquinez Strait or the south shore of Suisun Bay west of Ompin. However, there are three lots of earlier documents which provide locations for several occupied villages in this region some 10-15 years before the first recorded Karkin baptism in 1787. Four diaries provide details on villages visited by the Fages-Crespi expedition in late March, 1772, and the Anza-Font expedition in early April, 1776; both expeditions followed the south shore of Carquinez Strait and Suisun Bay. Three pertinent maps are associated with Cañizares, who participated in surveys of San Pablo Bay, Carquinez Strait and Suisun Bay in August, 1775, and September, 1776. Despite the fact that no village names appeared in these early documents there is sufficient interrelationship between them and the later mission registers and diaries to allow several significant identifications. Annotated translations of these documents have been published by Bolton (1927, 1930) and Cook (1960, 1962); locations will be identified in terms of modern place names and only the more pertinent ambiguities will be discussed herein.



Viader (ms., Aug. 17) located the former village of Karkin at Martinez on the southeast shore of Carquinez Strait in 1810. The pertinent passage has been translated in full by Cook (1957:145). Viader's inmediato al estero has been rendered as "close to the inlet" by Cook, but the phrase more likely refers to Carquinez Strait itself because estero and estrecho were used interchangeably with reference to the strait. Cook's (1960:258) "close to an inlet" (emphasis added) is even less correct. Since the last Karkin baptism was recorded in 1810, there is no reason to question Viader's location. Crespi merely stated that the 1772 expedition passed five large villages on March 29 between Pinole and either Crockett or Martinez (Bolton 1927:293). Crespi implied that the five villages were west of Crockett, but a better agreement could be achieved with the 1776 account if one assumed that the five villages were a Huchiun village on Pinole Creek, Turis at Tormey, Suyusuyu at Crockett, Ssogoreate on the north bank, and Karkin at Martinez. Several alternatives are possible but do not affect the territory of the Karkin tribelet. There need be little doubt that the single village visited by Cañizares in 1775 was located at Tormey near the southwest entrance to Carquinez Strait, the name of which may have been Turis.<sup>61</sup> Details recorded by Anza and Font in 1776 can be interpreted as a reflection of the western and eastern tribelet boundaries of the Karkin.<sup>62</sup> On April 2 an Indian delegation led the Anza-Font expedition from the Spanish camp at Rodeo north to their village at Tormey (Bolton 1930: Vol. 3, 138-140; Vol. 4, 366-368).<sup>63</sup> This special treatment would support the inference that the Spaniards had crossed the Huchiun-Karkin tribelet boundary south of Rodeo Creek, and entered the village of Turis. That Turis was the westernmost Karkin village can be inferred from the fact that the earliest reference to the Karkin tribelet ("nacion") in the Mission Dolores baptismal register appeared in 1787 with the baptism of a native of Turis.

The eastern boundary of the Karkin tribelet can be placed with even more certainty. The 1776 expedition camped at Pacheco, southeast of Martinez, on April 2; they were visited by Indians from a village which they had just passed, and trouble arose when the Indians began to steal things (Bolton 1930: Vol. 3, 142, 269; Vol. 4, 376-378). Since Cañizares showed a village at Martinez in 1776, and Viader placed Karkin at Martinez in 1810, the "village of thieves" can hardly be other than Karkin. The 1776 Cañizares map is reproduced in Cook (1957: Map 2) and a clearer reproduction appears in Harlow (1950: Map 4). In contrast to the 1775 map, four villages are shown in the Carquinez Strait-Suisun Bay region, all designated by the symbol Q. The westernmost of the three villages on the south shore is clearly at Martinez, between Southampton Bay (symbol N) and Suisun Bay (symbol R). The village at the west entrance to the strait (Turis) does not appear, probably because the surveyors concentrated on Suisun Bay in 1776.

The village at Martinez (Karkin) again appeared on the 1781 copy made by Villavicencio (Cook 1957: Map 3). This time the villages were designated by the symbol O, Karkin is the middle village on the south shore (Southampton Bay has become grossly distorted). The village at the west entrance to Carquinez Strait has reappeared, but the abandoned "San Ricardo" is not shown; one can therefore presume that Villavicencio had access to the Anza and Font diaries, as well as the 1775 and 1776 Cañizares maps, and showed only occupied villages. As drawn on the 1781 map, the huts of this westernmost village seem to be clustered more on San Pablo Bay than on Carquinez Strait, and, since no



village appears at Crockett on the 1776 map, it is probable that Villavicencio intended to show the village at Tormey (i.e., Turis).

Beeler (1954:273) included this 1781 map as part of his evidence that the Karkin Costanoan held both shores of Carquinez Strait, and suggested that the main village may have been at Crockett on the south shore, or at Glen Cove on the north shore. Kroeber (1957:217) accepted the latter interpretation because this Costanoan encroachment into what had previously been Southern Patwin territory would fit the general native practice of the same group owning both sides of a waterway. However, the northern village on the 1781 map is on Southampton Bay (not Glen Cove) and, though the problem could only be settled with a pertinent vocabulary, the meager data available do not support the Costanoan claim to the north shore of Carquinez Strait.

Dealing first with the placement of the main village of the Karkin on the south shore, there is no specific evidence that any village large enough to be the tribelet center occupied the site of Crockett at this time. Cañizares apparently was interested only in large villages with which he had actual contact. He estimated the population of the 1775 village to be 400 persons, and the same figure was given by Font (Anza gave 500) for the population of the village at Tormey; this coincidence suggests that the same village was represented, and Cañizares' placement of the village is closer to Tormey than to Crockett. The location of the Tormey village is firmly fixed and it is doubtful that an equally large additional village would have been located as close as Crockett. Despite the exaggerated population estimates (400 was a favorite number in the early diaries), it is clear that a large village was represented, and the ecological potential as well as the terrain would have been more favorable near Tormey than at Crockett. Four archaeological sites once existed around Tormey, while only one was known at Crockett (none have been excavated, so their relative ages are unknown). The two land expeditions turned inland just before reaching Crockett; Indians were seen fishing in the strait and crossed from the north shore, but none of the three diaries suggests that a large village was in the immediate vicinity of Crockett. The village which is repeatedly located and specifically named Karkin was at Martinez, and the population living at Suyusuyu in 1776 was too insignificant for Cañizares to notice.

One village appears on the north shore of Carquinez Strait on the 1776 and 1781 maps at the north edge of the Puerto de la Asumpta (the latter is designated by the symbol N and J respectively, in Cook 1957: Maps 2 and 3). Beeler identified the 1781 "Port of the Assumption" as Glen Cove, but it is actually Southampton Bay. This is most apparent on the 1775 map (Bolton 1930: Vol. 1, 385; the bay and island are increasingly distorted on later maps). The island shown at the mouth of the "Port" in 1775 was also described by Font in 1776, and can be located as under the Benicia Ferry Station (Bolton 1930: Vol. 4, 375). In addition, Cañizares described this bay as "one of the best interior ports which our sovereign possesses, large enough to anchor a fleet of warships" (Cook 1957:137). Clearly, Cañizares meant Southampton Bay northwest of Benicia, not the tiny inlet of Glen Cove opposite Crockett.

The name of the north shore village shown on Southampton Bay by Cañizares is provided by the Mission Dolores baptismal register (Merriam 1968:24). In 1788 one baptism was recorded as follows: Familia Aguasajuchium



meganos at the mouth of the San Joaquin River; these can be identified as Oak Ridge (roblar) and the sand hills (meganos) which still exist just east of Antioch. On April 3, 1776, Anza and Font located a large village on the river bank just east of these same two landmarks (Bolton 1930: Vol. 3, 144; Vol. 4, 383-384).<sup>65</sup> Chupcan can therefore be placed at Antioch. Presence of an assembly house indicates that the village was a tribelet center. An abandoned village at the Antioch Bridge was also visited and designated "San Ricardo" for here the expedition turned back (Bolton 1930: Vol. 3, 144, 276; Vol. 4, 396).<sup>66</sup> A subsidiary Chupcan village would be indicated, the population of which had gone to the tribelet center to aid in fishing. In summing up the day's trip from Karkin to Chupcan, Anza stated that "those whom we have seen today along the way appear to be different in language from those further back" (Bolton 1930: Vol. 3, 146). The Indians seen on April 3 were Saclan and Chupcan, so Anza must have been referring to the change from Costanoan to Bay Miwok. In addition, Font noted a change in house type at the village identified as Chupcan (Bolton 1930: Vol. 4, 383).

In 1811 Abella (Cook 1960:261, Oct. 16)<sup>67</sup> stated that Carquinez Strait ended in the land of the "Chupunes" (Chupcan). All the Saclan and most of the Chupcan had been baptized by this time (a single and last Chupcan baptism was recorded in 1812). Abella mentioned no Indians on the south bank of Suisun Bay. Duran in 1817 referred to Carquinez Strait itself as the estrecho de los Chupcanes, but stated that the Indians of this village were at the missions (Cook 1960:273, May 14; 276, May 24).<sup>68</sup> Since Viader indicated that the Martinez region was already depopulated in 1810, there is no need to interpret these two uses of Chupcan as a generalized place name to mean that the Chupcan had moved to Carquinez Strait. In 1824 Kotzebue (1830:145) landed on the north bank of the Sacramento River, a short distance above its mouth, and was informed by his pilot that the region was the former abode of the Chupcan and Julpun. The 1824 Map indicates otherwise, and the baptismal dates agree with the map that the north shore was held by the Ompin tribelet. The pilot was probably referring to the general region at the mouth of the two rivers, not just to the north bank of the Sacramento. Abella, Belcher and Sutter were all misdirected by Indian pilots in this maze of islands, so there is no assurance that Kotzebue's pilot knew aboriginal boundaries.

The 1824 Map and several diaries written between 1796 and 1817 indicate that the Julpun controlled the islands and adjacent west bank of the San Joaquin River where the three branches reunite (see Cook 1960:242, 258, 276, 278). Their territory probably extended to lower Marsh Creek, where Marsh (1890:213) found a few returned "Pulpunes" neophytes in 1838. Excavations in CCo-138, the largest site yet known in the Diablo district, have revealed a long history of occupation which was terminated at or just prior to the historic period; this site may well have been the aboriginal Julpun tribelet center. However, on the 1824 Map the Julpun village is shown on an unidentifiable island on the north bank of the San Joaquin River. Since Sal and Viader assign the tribelet to the mainland, it is possible that the Julpun moved their tribelet center to the island shortly after intensive mission contact began in 1810.

The Ompin controlled the mouth of the Sacramento River and the tribelet center may possibly be Sol-34 (see Cook 1960:261, 264, 274, 276-277; 1824 Map). Abella attributed a deserted fishing camp on Browns or Sherman Island



to the Ompin, and Cook (1955a:62) offered the hypothesis that the Ompin may once have held the south shore of the San Joaquin River near Antioch, but moved to the north shore to escape missionization. Abella implied that the fishing camp was on the south side of an island (definitely not the south shore, however), but he referred only to signs of fires as though he assumed the Ompin affiliation. At this time the camp could have been Chupcan or have represented Ompin expansion into depopulated Chupcan territory. The Ompin baptismal dates begin too late for an aboriginal south shore location, and such a short move would have been futile; the last Ompin baptism occurred in the same year, 1812, as did the last Chupcan. Cook's further discussion of the Ompin eluding capture as late as 1823 involves runaways, not an organized tribelet (see McCarthy 1958:169 with reference to the Altimira letter). One can surmise that the territorial boundary with the Chupcan and Julpun passed along the middle of Sherman Island.

Aside from Anza's implication that the Saclan and Chupcan spoke a language different from Costanoan, the major clues to the linguistic affiliation of these river mouth tribelets are provided by the personal names of female neophytes recorded in the baptismal registers, and the distinct archaeological complex recovered from sites within the Diablo district. Use of the -n suffix distinguishes these tribelets from the Plains Miwok groups using -mne, but many Costanoan as well as some adjacent Yokuts, Patwin, and Coast Miwok tribelet names also display the -n suffix. However, Ompin, Chupcan, Julpun, and Wolwon are linked together by the use of a distinctive constellation of endings which appear in female personal names. As discussed in Chapter 4, these names are most similar to those of the Plains Miwok, but significant and consistent frequency differences warrant the separation of the Ompin, Chupcan, Julpun, and Wolwon from Plains Miwok. As discussed in Chapter 4, the cultural remains from sites near the mouth of the joined Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers differ from those found in the Cosumnes district to the north and the Stockton district to the east, yet are similar to material found in sites along Walnut Creek to the west; together, they delimit the Diablo district. The aboriginal inhabitants of the Walnut Creek drainage are known to have been members of the Saclan tribelet, the language of which is known to have been that designated Bay Miwok herein. The available data, admittedly meager, thus support the inference that the Ompin, Chupcan, Julpun, and Wolwon were also Bay Miwok tribelets. Except for the Karkin-Saclan boundary already discussed, the remaining Bay Miwok boundaries have been placed along drainage divides and/or with reference to excavated archaeological sites of the different districts.

It is therefore proposed that the Plains Miwok-Bay Miwok boundary extended from the crest of the Montezuma Hills eastward across the Sacramento River and Delta islands just south of Rio Vista and Isleton to meet the southeastern border just south of Sycamore Slough.

#### The Western Boundary

Powers, Powell, and Barrett placed the western boundary of the Plains Miwok along the Cosumnes River. Merriam (1907) and Kroeber (1904, 1925) shifted it westward to the middle of the Sacramento River. Only Kroeber (1932:269-270; 1957:217) included the west bank of the Sacramento within Plains Miwok territory, apparently on the assumption that the Miwok followed



the usual California pattern of one ethnic group occupying both sides of a watercourse. Merriam could place three village names on the east bank of the Sacramento River, and Kroeber obtained one; no ethnographer obtained names of either Plains Miwok or Southern Patwin villages associated with the west bank of the Sacramento River.

The historical documents provide the forgotten names of the tribelets which once occupied both sides of the Sacramento River. Personal names and locative suffixes augment more limited linguistic evidence to support Plains Miwok affiliation for all villages distributed between Rio Vista and Freeport, as has been discussed in detail in Chapter 5. The Southern Patwin villages shown on Map 2 are involved in no controversy with Plains Miwok and therefore require no further discussion herein.

The Plains Miwok-Southern Patwin boundary can be reasonably established in terms of physiography. The Montezuma Hills at the southwest corner of Plains Miwok territory were too dry to be occupied permanently. Exploitation rights were doubtless divided about equally among the Anizumne Plains Miwok, Ompin Bay Miwok, and Tolenas Southern Patwin. The Yolo Basin, lying between the Montezuma Hills and Putah Creek, was a natural catchment which was flooded in winter and parched in summer. As is known to have been the case for the similar Sutter Basin farther north (Kroeber 1932:268), this unoccupied land was presumably used for hunting and gathering more or less equally by villagers living along watercourses to the east and west of the Yolo Basin. Since the Miwok population was the larger, the boundary running through the Yolo Basin has been placed somewhat closer to the western edge. There is no indication of hostility between Plains Miwok and Southern Patwin, and it is not unlikely that reciprocal hunting and fishing invitations were frequent between tribelets of these two language families.



## CONCLUSIONS

Settlements and territorial boundaries of the Plains Miwok have long been uncertain problems in California ethnography, problems which have continued to limit the effective interpretation of archaeological, linguistic, and demographic data. The present study represents the first attempt to evaluate the disputed boundary claims reported by ethnographers in terms of the historical documents and archaeological record. The following conclusions seem indicated by the available data.

Documents of the Mission and Sutter periods provide the names of contemporary Plains Miwok tribelets between 1811 and 1850. Tribelet locations not given in other sources can be reasonably approximated from the baptismal dates. Female personal names recorded in the baptismal registers appear to reflect linguistic affiliation, and can be used to identify controversial tribelets as Plains Miwok, Bay Miwok, or Northern Valley Yokuts.

As of A. D. 1800 there were 28 independent Plains Miwok tribelets, each of which was named after the primary village of these landowning units. There were 12 tribelet centers distributed along both banks of the Sacramento and lower Mokelumne Rivers between Rio Vista and Freeport, seven centers on the Cosumnes River and Deer Creek between the Mokelumne River and the foothills, one center on Laguna Creek, and eight tribelet centers on the Mokelumne River between the Cosumnes River and the foothills. No adequate record has been preserved as to the names or number of subsidiary villages occupied by the same tribelet. Available evidence suggests that from one to three smaller villages were inhabited contemporaneously with the tribelet center, depending on both the season and the size of the tribelet.

Permanent villages were confined to natural levees and knolls along the banks of the major watercourses and adjacent lakes. Tribelet centers were occupied more or less continuously for generations, so the bulk of the population must be regarded as sedentary. Segments of the tribelet population established seasonal camps along intermittent creeks during the spring, and temporary hunting and harvesting camps were probably set up wherever the need arose. No midden accumulations are found on the dry plains and uplands away from watercourses; though unoccupied by a resident population, this hinterland was extensively exploited by hunters and collectors of both food and raw materials. Abandoned villages retained their names and served as camp sites or temporary abodes for villages which had to move upon the death of village headmen.

The independent tribelets appear to have been grouped into larger cooperative units. Evidence for three of these is provided by military alliances, resistance to missionization, and intermarriage in the historic period. However, differential action by adjacent tribelets indicates that these groupings did not arise merely as a response to European pressure. Since the groupings cut across drainage systems and physiographic boundaries, it is probable that the aboriginal basis of cooperation was economic, and tribelets within each group exchanged invitations to exploit resources which were abundant within the territory of one tribelet but meager or absent in



that of another. There may have been two such groups centered on the Sacramento River, at least two on the Cosumnes River, and perhaps three on the Mokelumne River.

The aboriginal boundaries indicated by the distribution of Plains Miwok villages conform to the usual California pattern in which the same group occupied both banks of rivers and streams. Linguistic boundaries tended to follow drainage divides, or passed through regions unsuitable for permanent settlement. Prior to the advent of Sutter, the Plains Miwok-Valley Nisenan boundary crossed the unoccupied plains south of the American River drainage, extending from the mouth of Putah Creek to the foothills north of the Deer Creek drainage. The eastern boundary with the Northern Miwok followed the foothills at about the 500 foot contour, except for the slight extension of Northern Miwok territory westward to include the tributary branches of the intermittent Dry Creek. The southeastern boundary with the Northern Valley Yokuts crossed the unoccupied plains between the Mokelumne and Calaveras Rivers. The southwestern boundary with the Bay Miwok crossed the Delta islands about three miles north of the San Joaquin River. The western boundary with the Southern Patwin extended through the unoccupied Montezuma Hills and Yolo Basin, parallel to and west of the Sacramento River.

The major effect of missionization on native Plains Miwok settlement was depopulation rather than tribelet dislocation. Six tribelets, occupying territory closest to Mission San Jose, had been exhausted between 1811 and 1836, and none of these returned as organized groups to their native lands after secularization. The remaining tribelet centers continued to be occupied throughout the Mission period, and many of these offered sanctuary to runaway neophytes from various alien tribelets. However, there is no evidence for the intrusion into Plains Miwok territory of organized tribelets fleeing mission pressure, nor for the movement of any Plains Miwok tribelet seeking to escape the punitive attacks of Spanish or Mexican forces. The only significant boundary change prior to 1840 was the extension of Muqueleme Miwok control to include the depopulated territory of the Chilamne Yokuts along the Calaveras River. This new boundary remained meaningful to Miwok and Yokuts groups between 1830 and 1848, but there is no evidence for any Muqueleme village on the Calaveras River until after 1850.

The major disruption of Plains Miwok settlement followed the devastating plague of 1833, after which the native population continually declined. Most subsidiary villages were permanently abandoned and tribelet extinction proceeded at an increasing tempo through the Sutter period (1839-1850). Survivors of seven tribelets had moved to New Helvetia by 1844, and one had moved to Northern Miwok territory. By 1850 only four tribelets still occupied native territory, one on the Cosumnes River and three on the Mokelumne River. The last Plains Miwok tribelet, resettled at Elk Grove, appears to have become extinct as an organized group about 1880.

The Nisenan claims to the upper Cosumnes drainage are not aboriginal. The Yuseumne Valley Nisenan moved from the American River to Deer Creek after 1843, but the tribelet returned to the American River in 1847. The Foothill Nisenan first appeared in 1847, when the Yumhui settled at Sloughhouse to work for Sutter. After the discovery of gold in 1848, the Foothill Nisenan living in the American River drainage were displaced southward into the Cosumnes



River drainage, where they amalgamated with remnants of the Plains Miwok and Northern Miwok. By 1900 Foothill Nisenan had become the dominant Indian language on the North Fork of the Cosumnes River and in the foothill strip between Michigan Bar and Carbondale.

Territory bounded by the Walnut Creek drainage and the mouths of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers, divided by previous investigators among the Plains Miwok, Northern Valley Yokuts, and Costanoan, would appear to have been occupied by Bay Miwok aboriginally. It is proposed that the Ompin, Julpun, Chupcan, and Wolwon belong with the Saclan as speakers of this recently recognized language.



# ENDNOTES

1. Though Aginsky obtained responses of some sort from Sierran groups for the entire questionnaire, the Plains Miwok column is completely blank for the sections on lineages, land ownership, war, and nearly so for political organization. Aside from demonstrable informants' errors (denial of shell-bead money and pressure flaking), poor organization of the data adds such confusions as the jumbled mixture of upright granaries, subsurface granaries and pit storage in the tables, along with the listing of pit storage as denied by all informants (Aginsky 1943, nos. 251-260, pp. 449, 455). The section on final patrilocal residence (nos. 1444, 1446) is also confused. The supplementary notes, so essential for such a poorly known group as the Plains Miwok, are unusually meager and cryptic. For these reasons, entries at variance with the general valley pattern of Nisenan, Maidu and Patwin culture have been given slight weight in this general summary.

2. The village sketch by Chever (1870: Fig. 35) suggests that each lineage erected a granary. Additional granaries were maintained in collecting localities several miles from the village (Sullivan 1934:71).

3. Some 200 Maidu Indians from several villages were seen returning from a communal hunt with 64 antelope; only a few Indians were armed, for most had merely formed the encircling ring (Work 1923:24).

4. Cf. the Nomlaki, among whom hunting was considered work for the ordinary man and was seldom engaged in by the wealthy specialist (Goldschmidt 1951:330).

5. The definite emphasis on wealth, trade, and specialized crafts reported from the Nomlaki living in the dry hills of the eastern North Coast Range is documented in literature on the valley groups only for the River Patwin, though confirming echoes can be found scattered through the data available for Maidu, Miwok, Wappo, and Pomo (Goldschmidt 1951:326-341; McKern 1922:235-238; Driver 1936:210). Population density of itself supports the ethnographic conclusion that Nomlaki institutions were a pale reflection of those found in the valley. It is therefore unfortunate that detailed information on valley groups is so meager that the possibility of emergent class differentiation must fall largely within the realm of speculation.

6. Smith noted the change from thatched to earth-covered lodges as he ascended the Feather River in 1828, thus confirming the Nisenan data (Sullivan 1934:57, 67, 68-70; Kroeber 1929:259).

7. Logs carried from the mountains by flood waters and used for ferries were repeatedly referred to on the Feather River but were not mentioned for the smaller rivers in Miwok territory.

8. Valley Nisenan data. Though definitely problematical, use as spindle whorls seems most likely for the abundant stone discoidals found archaeologically in the Delta. First appearing along with a beaded, twined cloak and tubular smoking pipes, they mark the beginning of the Late Horizon (an archaeological period with multiple phases), which was clearly ancestral



to the historic culture. One may speculate that this was the time of entry of many of the cultural traits shared by Central California and the Southwest (Heizer 1946:191), but a northern complex (harpoons, collared pipes, grave pit burning) can also be distinguished.

9. Valley Nisenan data. Feather cloaks (also termed duck or goose blankets, feather robes) are referred to for the Plains Miwok by Belcher (1843:126) and Merriam (1967:367). They are often mentioned in the historical accounts on the Nisenan.

10. The persistent denial by acculturated informants of a belief in life after death is not supported by mythology or archaeology (Kroeber 1925:452; Aginsky 1943: Nos. 2018, 2020).

11. Archaeology does not support the claim that Plains Miwok practiced secondary cremation and poled the burning corpse to ashes (Aginsky 1943:440). As a general practice this custom (along with the Mourning Ceremony) was restricted to the Sierra aboriginally. The occasional secondary cremations found in historic sites in the valley would seem to document the generally reported practice of returning the mortal remains of an individual who died away from home to his natal village in the form of easily carried ashes.

12. The Plains Miwok appear to have been specifically excluded because there was no evidence of the Hesi ceremony of the Kuksu Cult. This is not the place to go into the veiled intricacies of the origin and spread of this cult. However, it can be said that available archaeological data tend to support the less favored alternative offered by Kroeber, namely, that Patwin preeminence in Kuksu complexity was the result of late accretion from diverse centers, rather than an indication of local origin and longest development (Kroeber 1932:401-402). His more general association of the primary center of this religion with the Sacramento River rather than Clear Lake is supported by admittedly controversial evidence which suggests an original Delta hearth where both ancient and intrusive ideas were fused into a religious complex at the beginning of the Late Horizon. By one interpretation inferrable from effigy ornaments as burial associations, this religion diffused outward to the north and west in the form of public dance ceremonies. Restriction of performances to the men's secret society may have been a protohistoric development. Constant accretion and reorganization would seem indicated, and the River Patwin, centrally located and least affected by European settlement, were able to add elements developed by their neighbors and to preserve far more of the aboriginal content than other Valley groups.

13. The ethnographers consistently heard this suffix as -mni, but the mission documents are equally consistent in the appearance of -mne. The tribelet names given parenthetically have been hyphenated for emphasis. It is probable that only -ne was added to village names ending in -m (e.g., Cosom; see tribelet 16). However, the meaning of too few Plains Miwok names is known to establish rules governing the behavior of suffixes in that language; Merriam (1967:367) recorded Guaypem as Wipa.

14. Though both Chamisso and Choris grossly misunderstood much of what the Spanish told them about local ethnogeography, the comments on the "Tcholorovones" (Cholbon herein) are repeated by Vallejo and other sources.



15. The entire question of fugitive Karkin-Tauquimne synonymy would hardly have arisen had not Abella's 1811 reference to the "Tauquimenes" been misprinted as "Tarquimenes" in Bancroft (1885a:323). In regard to aboriginal mobility, Schenck's inferences as to the relative frequency of trips made to San Francisco Bay by the "Cosumnes" and "Moquelemnes" derive from his use of secondary sources (little more than Bancroft) - no primary source supports his discussion. The Cuyens and Mayeme were local Yokuts, not wandering Cosomne.

16. Neither the Laquisimas village nor the Stanislaus River were shown on the 1824 Map, although 124 "Lacquisemne" had been baptized at Mission San Jose between 1811-1822. Since 17 Laquisimas were taken to Mission Santa Clara between 1816-1823, the jurisdictional boundary between the two missions probably passed through Laquisimas territory several miles above the mouth of the Stanislaus River (see Chapter 6). In 1829, Sanchez stated that the ford of the San Joaquin River north of the Stanislaus River was "in the territory of Mission San Jose" (Cook 1962:174, May 9).

17. Pertinent diaries of interior explorations and military campaigns between 1800 and 1840 have been translated and published by Cook (1960, 1962). A convenient table of Spanish (pre-1820) penetration of the general Delta region was provided by Schenck (1926:135-136); few of his synonymies of tribelets have been accepted herein, however. Cook (1955a:57, 59, 60, 64-65) discussed the various accounts in relative detail, but often differed as to the groups involved. General summaries were provided by Bancroft (1885a, b).

18. The Musupumne are also shown as not yet Christian, but were probably confused on the 1824 Map with the Guaypemne (peak frequency 1828). If the Musupumne (peak frequency 1824) are shown correctly, most of the inhabitants were presumably baptized late in the year, after the map was made (see tribelet 9).

19. Note the replacement of the -mnes suffix (terminal s forms the Spanish plural) with -menes. This occurred most frequently in military documents, and is one of many indications of lack of concern with the native pronunciation. The priests were much more careful, and, aside from a single "Ssigusome" (Siusumne), the Plains Miwok names contained in the Mission San Jose register were always written -mne with two consistent and significant exceptions: Muqueleme and Pasasime (the latter was Yokuts). On the other hand, the mixed recording which appears in the Mission Santa Clara register would indicate that for the Yokuts groups using this suffix, the predominant pronunciation was the simple -me. It seems possible that Yokuts usage was influencing the actual speech of the Muqueleme Miwok (see tribelet 23).

20. Unfortunately, Pinart (the source of all marriage data) recorded the marriages of only certain years, and a large gap of intermediate years exists. Most of the discussion which follows is based on what appears to be a relatively complete recording of the year 1834, plus the years 1819 to 1826. As will become apparent in the analysis of the 1830-1831 data, access to the original documents could remove the uncertainty which results from the use of the incomplete information abstracted by Merriam. If one knew the day of baptism, personal names, sex, and spouse (other relatives are often given in



the Mission Solano register), one could probably reconstruct many unknown aspects of Plains Miwok social organization.

21. Usage of the term "clan" follows Murdock (1949). The two suggestions of clans in Central California refer to the Nomlaki (Goldschmidt 1951:319) and the Plains Miwok (Aginsky 1943: Nos. 1440, 1994o, p. 464).

22. Mariano Vallejo was so given to gross exaggeration and romantic invention that care must be taken in the acceptance of many of his statements. It is well documented that, aided by his brother Salvador and Chief Solano (a Suisun Patwin), Mariano Vallejo did become Lord of the North Shore. However, Vallejo's account of his subjection of Solano, already a neophyte, as well as the numbers involved in various campaigns against the Patwin, cannot be accepted. With reference to the Plains Miwok, the data given for 1837 and 1838 are consistent and have been accepted. The events reported for 1840 are contradictory. One may question whether the "Tagulamnes" (Tauhalame) and "Lachysimas" (Laquisimas) Yokuts (living on the Tuolumne and Stanislaus Rivers), who were already raiding the much closer Santa Clara Valley, would have joined the unrelated Ochejamne in a raid on Napa Valley. To do so the Yokuts would have had to evade the Muqueleme (already in control of the Calaveras River) when most of the Delta was blocked by high water. It seems more likely that unknown Miwok groups were involved. That the Ochejamne participated is supported by Yount (1923:54). However, the latter placed the battle in December rather than in the spring. In this case it would appear that Yount was in error, for the Ochejamne are reported to have been living at New Helvetia by July, 1840 (Phelps ms.).

23. Personal names used for the analysis reported herein were obtained largely from Pinart (ms.). Unfortunately, the incompleteness of this source limits the sample of names available for a number of Plains Miwok tribelets. Additional names from groups adjacent to the Plains Miwok, baptized at Mission Dolores, were taken from Bancroft Library ms. C-C 4, folder 68.

24. Lake Miwok names were indistinguishable from Wappo in the sample available. Inter-marriage is quite possible, but a possible confusion of Wappo and Lake Miwok tribelets with a similar name is also possible (Cf. Kroeber 1932:366-367).

25. Archaeological sites are referred to herein by reference to a county symbol and number; e.g., Sac-29 refers to the 29th site recorded in Sacramento County. Other county symbols include: CCo-, Contra Costa; Mrn-, Marin; Nap-, Napa; SJo-, San Joaquin; Sol-, Solano; Sut-, Sutter; and Yol-, Yolo.

26. The following sites have yielded beads of the Mission period (probable historic names have been indicated where possible): Sacramento River (north to south): Sac-85; Sac-86 = Hulpumne; Sac-56 = Gualacomne; Yol-53 = Ylamne; Sac-75 = Junizumne (?); Cosumnes River (south to north): Sac-6 = Cosomne; Sac-107 = Mayeman; Sac-117 = Lowemul; Sac-120 = Shalachmushumne; Sac-126 = Amuchamne; Sac-127. So few excavations have been made on the Mokelumne River that no sites of this period have been identified. The northerly concentration of sites is primarily a reflection of proximity to the major institution carrying on excavations (the former Sacramento Junior College), but probably reflects missionization as well. Neophytes were buried at



Mission San Jose, so the number of historic burials in the more southerly sites would be greatly reduced.

27. The following radiocarbon dates are of pertinence to the temporal boundary between Phase 1 and Phase 2:

<u>Period</u>	<u>Date (A.D.)</u>	<u>Lab. no.</u>	<u>Site</u>
Early Phase 2	1530 $\pm$ 90	I-5988	Mrn-170
Early Phase 2	1510 $\pm$ 50	UCLA-1793A	CCo-30
Late Phase 1	1485 $\pm$ 50	UCLA-1793D	CCo-30
Late Phase 1	1450 $\pm$ 150	M-884	CCo-138

In a preliminary report the beginning of Phase 2 was placed at 1600 (Heizer 1958b: 6); however, the emphasis on trade which is evident in Phase 2 suggests that a century time-lag between the coast and interior valley is excessive and the depth of some Phase 2 deposits also favors the placement of the dividing date at 1500.

28. No adequate data are available for the Plains Miwok in the American period. Indirect evidence suggests that dances were still performed at a newly located Amuchamne in the 1870's (see tribelet 19). The cohesion of the group probably did not last long; if a terminal date for tribelet extinction is placed at 1881, the Plains Miwok would have endured an even 75 years of direct contact with Europeans since their initial contact in 1806.

29. As discussed in the text, it is convenient to begin the historic period in 1769 rather than with the intermittent coastal contacts. Because of the possibility of glass bead importation from Southern California via the San Joaquin Valley, this earlier date seems preferable to 1776 (founding of Mission Dolores) as a beginning date for Central California. The year 1811 (beginning of active missionization of the Central Great Valley) might be a more suitable boundary than 1800 to separate the early and late divisions of the Mission period. This point can only be clarified by the discovery of an early Mission period cemetery near San Francisco Bay; none has yet been found.

30. The informant was born at Kadema (Sac-192), though his father came from Pusune. Kadema was not referred to in the Sutter period, and archaeological excavations suggest that this village was not occupied until the American period (it was inhabited earlier in Phase 1).

31. In Phase 1 times CCo-141 also displays consistent differences from CCo-150, the latter being only three miles to the northwest in the Diablo district.

32. "Ulpinos" is a variant of the Bay Miwok tribelet name Ompin. The Spanish and Mexicans continued to use this tribelet name as a general referent for the region at the mouth of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers. Bidwell distorted "Los Ompines" into "Los Ulpinos." Americans had a poor ear for Miwok names: "Machalumbry" and "Magnele" are American renderings of Muqueleme, while the Spanish plural of Julpun (Julpunes) became "Pulpenes" to Americans.



33. Depopulation of valley villages had been so extreme by 1846 that the number of inhabitants recorded by Gatten can be used to distinguish valley from foothill locations. None of the villages which have firm valley locations on the Mokelumne, Cosumnes, and American Rivers had a population in excess of 93 inhabitants when visited by Gatten; the largest Plains Miwok settlement had only 88. In contrast, the foothill villages (which had largely escaped the malaria epidemic of 1833) had populations which ranged from 142 (Wapumne) to 485 (Yalesumne). Lopotsimne, with only 74 inhabitants, thus belongs with the valley villages. The neighboring village to the west was Yamlocklock (referred to in no other source except Gatten), and the population of 67 inhabitants also indicates a valley placement. Yamlocklock has therefore been placed on the Cosumnes River as a subsidiary village of the Lopotsimne Plains Miwok. Yuleyumne was a Northern Miwok village in the adjacent foothills east of Lopotsimne, and the population of 237 inhabitants again agrees with the known foothill placement.

34. Ryan is the source on Murphy's marriage and use of Indians, but he did not provide any names of the tribelets; it is possible that his wife was the sister of Pachatu, the Newachumne chief in 1847 (Sutter 1939:127).

35. Shulule was probably a victim of the 1847 sickness; Sutter (1939:81) commented that Augustin (one of his Muqueleme workers) "took charge" of Shulule's people. This probably means that Augustin directed the move of the Yuseumne village, since it is quite improbable that this Nisenan tribelet would have accepted an alien Miwok as chief. The Yuseumne are next referred to as arriving with Sekumne workers in February, 1848, suggesting a return to the American River (Ibid., p. 115).

36. At least one of Merriam's (1960:33; 1967:370) informants was Chief Hunchup, a Foothill Nisenan of El Dorado County interviewed in 1904. This informant reported that Foothill Nisenan territory extended only to Michigan Bar, and that the Plains Miwok held the Cosumnes River and Deer Creek from Sloughhouse to the tules; Yumhui was specifically assigned to the Plains Miwok.

37. Yolimhu was also placed "near" Folsom (Kroeber 1929:256). Neither Yodok nor Yolimhu appear in the historical documents so their significance remains uncertain. Folsom remained an important Indian center during the last decades of the 19th century but no contemporary reference to the name of the Indian settlement has been noted. Since Chief Hunchup, living in the upper Cosumnes drainage, referred to the Folsom Nisenan only as "northerners," a late shift of population could be indicated. It is probable that the inhabitants of Yodok moved their village from Folsom to Salmon Falls after the Yalesumne abandoned the latter site and moved to Latrobe. Quite possibly Yodok was a subsidiary village of the Yalesumne.

38. Miners at Michigan Bar objected to the dam and Jared Sheldon was killed in the dispute which arose in 1857; the dam was destroyed by flood waters the following winter. Sheldon's sons maintained the ranch, but it is probable that the Amuchamne left the upper Cosumnes during the chaotic 1850's. Sedimentation of the river by mining operations soon ended the annual salmon run.



39. References to the "Mokosumni," "Umucha," and Elk Grove all pertain to the Amuchamne. The dating is provided by Kroeber's (1929:272) reference to the death of a dance leader Yoktco at Elk Grove, leaving no adequate successor. Yoktco introduced valley dances to the Foothill Nisenan in 1872 (Gifford 1927:229; Beals 1933:399). The fact that Yoktco was a Muqueleme from Pleasanton, yet died at Elk Grove, would suggest that dances were no longer given on the Mokelumne River in the 1870's.

40. Sac-1 is referred to as site 1 in Schenck and Dawson (1926:357). There is no support for Schenck's (p. 358) interpretation of the formation of the mound during 75 years of historic occupation. The burials were intrusive into an older midden deposit.

41. All 12 villages were assigned to the "Mokelkos tribe" living between Lockeford and the mouth of the Cosumnes, but the number probably refers to all tribelets west of Camanche. Other documentation for the summary which follows in the text will be found under the pertinent tribelet.

42. The four Northern Miwok wives were baptized in 1829, three from Polayum and one from Silepum. Polayum was probably the same Northern Miwok village recorded as "Polasu," just south of Sonora (Kroeber 1925: Pl. 37, no. 24). The baptismal year and suffix suggest that Silepum was nearby. The possibility that Polayum and Silepum were subsidiary Plains Miwok villages seems unlikely in view of the small number of baptisms, single and early baptismal date, and lack of other references to the groups. Only five Plains Miwok tribelets appear in the baptismal register for 1829, and all are near the mouth of the Cosumnes River (Ochejamne, Junizumne, Tihuechemne, Locolomne, and Seuamne). The four Northern Miwok women were probably married to men of these tribelets, particularly the Locolomne, because this tribelet later moved into Northern Miwok territory.

43. Merriam reported that this village had been occupied within the memory of persons then living. He also reported that another Muqueleme village east of Lockeford had been abandoned earlier, but no archaeological site has been reported between SJo-27 (Merriam's "Muk-kel") and SJo-26 (Merriam's "Lalum-ne"). It is possible that Merriam misunderstood the relative positions, and "Muk-kel" was at Staple's Ferry (SJo-30) before 1852, but the population shifted to SJo-27 after the death of Chief Senato at Staple's Ferry (Gilbert 1879:13).

44. Smith's name for the Stanislaus River ("Appelaminy") is another instance in which the name of a visiting Indian group was applied to a river which was not occupied by that group aboriginally. Viader visited the Apelamenes on the San Joaquin River south of the Tuolumne in 1810 (Cook 1960:259-260).

45. Only 14 Chilamne names are available, but the constellation of endings is clearly Miwok, as indicated by the following frequencies of the -mayen (typical Miwok) and -te (typical Yokuts) endings: Chilamne names display 29% -mayen, 0% -te; Muqueleme endings include 23% -mayen, 5% -te; Yatchicumne Yokuts names display 0% -mayen, 27% -te.

46. The vocabularies from "Pujuni" and "Tsamak" (Sama), though short, suggest different Nisenan dialects (Hale 1846; republished in Powers 1877:599-600).



47. John Cooper, an in-law of Vallejo, termed the American River the "Rio Ojotska" (from Ochejamne) on his 1833 land grant map (Severson 1973:25). It may be noted that the Chucumne also have been placed in the territory of Sutter's settlement (Gudde 1936:55). As discussed under tribelet 11, this group lived south of Sutter's land grant and was not mentioned in the Sutter documents.

48. Limited excavations in Kadema (Sac-192) suggest that this site may have been abandoned before the protohistoric period, but was reoccupied in the 1850's as the final Valley Nisenan village on the American River.

49. The other two villages (Wana and Kui) do not appear in the baptismal registers and presumably represent subsidiary villages of the Chilamne tribelet. That the Yatchicumne were a distinct tribelet is clear from both the baptismal registers and varied historical documents.

50. The Spanish and Mexican documents emphasize tribelets named after a principal village, as among the Miwok. While there are scattered suggestions of tribal organization among the Northern Valley Yokuts (particularly for the Tauhalame), the evidence is too meager and contradictory to discuss herein.

51. The photograph in Merriam (1966: Pl. 8b, p. 117) is attributed to "Mokalumne" near Lockeford but the nearby hills indicate that this old style dance house was at Buena Vista (Cf. Merriam 1955:Pl. 43a).

52. In a similar manner Merriam (1966:45, 60) recorded a Hill Nisenan vocabulary from Tom Cleanso's sister before learning that she had forgotten her native Pusune (Valley Nisenan) language.

53. Vocabularies A-F represent Northern Valley Yokuts. The last five vocabularies (G-K) should probably be classified as Central Valley Yokuts.

54. Wilde (1925) gave the variant name "Siyokos". This prompted a query from Merriam to which Wilde (ms.) replied that "Siyokos" was a tribal name which became "Si(y)akum" when Stockton was founded, but was now rendered Siakumne. A similar change was claimed by Gilbert (1879:13) for the "Yachekos", "or as they are now called, the Ya-che-kum-na"; Gilbert (1879:12) had wrongly inferred from four river names (Cosumnes to Tuolumne) that -umna meant "river" in both Miwok and Yokuts. Use of the -ko suffix, meaningful only in Miwok (Barrett 1908:341), suggests that the informants used by Wilde and Gilbert were Plains Miwok.

55. Despite some variant frequencies, the endings of 30 "Lacquisemne" female personal names were clearly Yokuts: 27% -te, 10% -me, 3% -ye, 27% -s, 0% -mayen.

56. Cook (1943:33; 1962:165), followed by Broadbent (1974:96), Moratto (1976:32) and Moratto and Hall (1976:82), identified Estanislao as Miwok. However, Pinart (Merriam 1955:134) included the "Lakkisamnes" with tribelets which spoke Yokuts, an affiliation which is supported by female personal names. Likewise, there is no support for Cook's (1955a:76, Map 4) extension of Southern Miwok territory to the valley floor along the Merced River and



# Mariposa Creek.

57. Palomares identified the Stanislaus River chiefs as Estanislao and his brother Saulon; the latter was probably the "Indian" called Sabulon by Sanchez in 1829 (Cook 1962:174). Palomares also claimed that the Muqueleme chief at this time was named Cipriano but this Christian name would not have been used by an unconverted chief; the famous Cipriano was an associate of Estanislao. The later mass conversion of the Muqueleme, doubted by Cook (1962:211, note 49), is supported by the baptismal records. Palomares provided the earliest reference to Chief Jose Jesus, but he associated him with the Tuolumne River whereas all other references link Jose Jesus with Stanislaus River groups. Palomares did not record his "Memoria" until 1877 so he may have confused the affiliation of these chiefs contacted by the Peralta expedition; the 1833 date for the latter was given in a contemporary letter (Cook 1962:188).

58. Bryant named four chiefs without specifying tribelet affiliation, but the same chiefs were identified by tribelet in 1847 in The New Helvetia Diary. Jose Jesus was chief of the "Chapesimny" (Sutter 1939:68); Raymundo was sub-chief of the "Lakissimneys" and Carlos was sub-chief of the "Tawalemneys" (Sutter 1939:45). "Filipe" (Felipe) was probably a sub-chief of the Chapaiseme because he always appeared with Jose Jesus (Sutter 1939:67, 73). The absence of Cornelius (chief of the Tauhalame) and Florio (chief of the Laquisimas) in the Bryant list suggests that distinct tribelets were still functioning in 1846. Bryant named only one chief for 12 "Machelemes" (Muqueleme) warriors whom he had recruited the previous day.

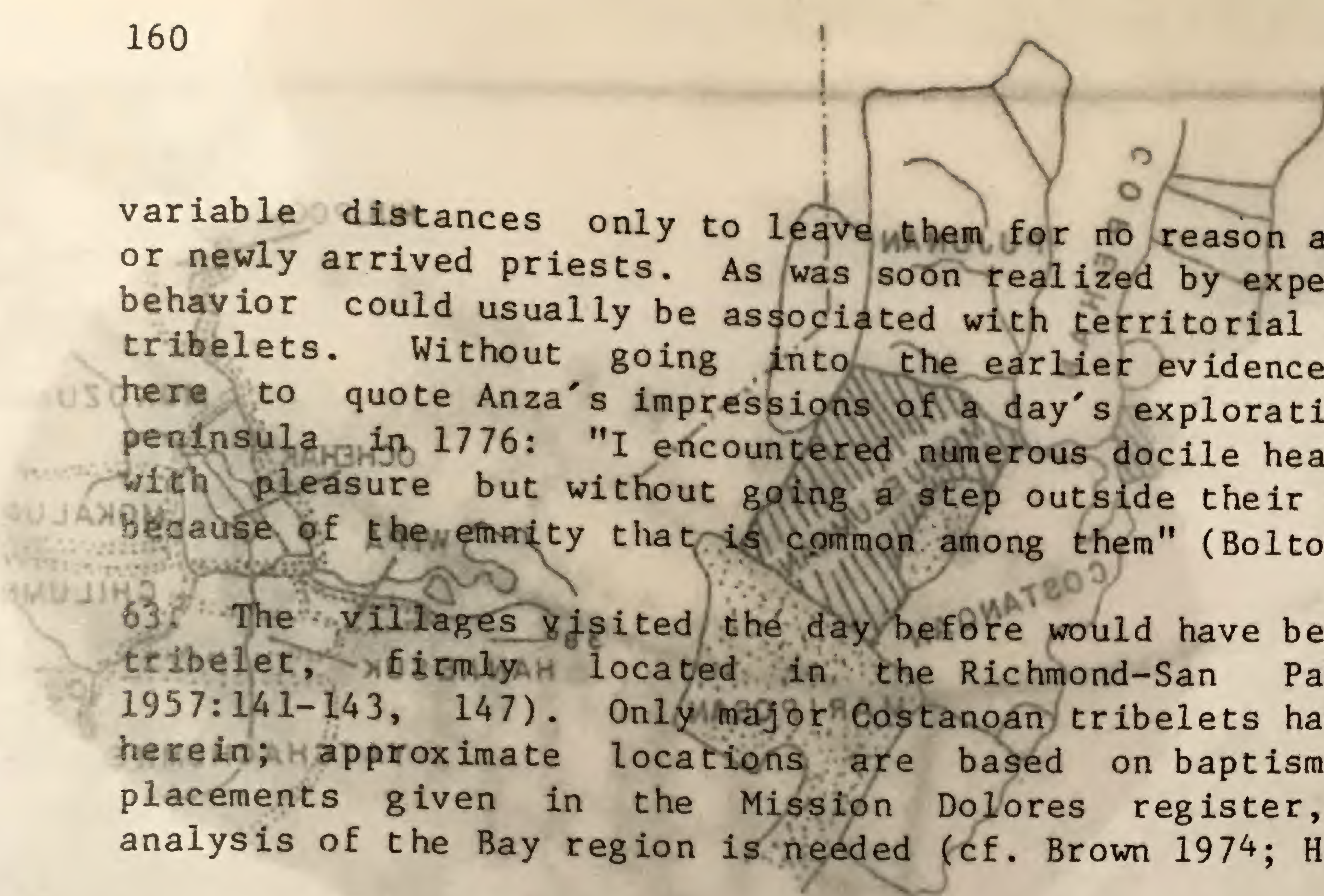
59. If Gomez' memory was correct when recorded in 1877, the dominion of Jose Jesus extended from the Stanislaus River to the Calaveras River and into the foothills to Mokelumne Hill by 1849 (Heizer 1955:45-46). Heizer identified Jose Jesus as a Sierra Miwok but the aboriginal associations of Chapaiseme, Siakumne and Knights Ferry support Yokuts affiliation.

60. The reference to caves by Muñoz also allows identification of this diary as the source for Vallejo's fanciful derivation of "Tuolumne" from "talmalamne" (Gudde 1962:330; Hoover and Rensch 1966:566; note that "Taulamne" was misread as "Tautamne"; cf. Moratto 1976:15). The river was named "Rio de los Towalumnes" by Fremont in 1848 (Gudde 1962:330) after the dominant tribe resident upon its banks (Fremont 1887:443-444, 446). The modern spelling appears on the 1849 map of Derby.

61. Cañizares referred to this village as at the eastern entrance to Carquinez Strait (Cook 1957:137). The Spanish "north" was actually northeast, so Cañizares was probably attempting to designate what would now be called the south shore. The village shown on his 1775 map was definitely not at Martinez but can best be equated with the large village found at Tormey by the 1776 expedition (Bolton 1930:385, symbol g). Cañizares must have seen other villages but stated specifically that he "had communication" with only one village.

62. Various diarists of the pre-mission explorations of San Francisco Bay recorded the behavior of the native inhabitants upon meeting the Spaniards. Those who did not flee soon overcame their fears and approached the strangers to receive beads and gifts; the Indians often accompanied the explorers for





variable distances only to leave them for no reason apparent to the earliest or newly arrived priests. As was soon realized by experienced explorers, such behavior could usually be associated with territorial boundaries of different tribelets. Without going into the earlier evidence, it will be sufficient here to quote Anza's impressions of a day's exploration on the San Francisco peninsula in 1776: "I encountered numerous docile heathen who accompanied me with pleasure but without going a step outside their respective territories, because of the enmity that is common among them" (Bolton 1930: Vol. III:128).

63. The villages visited the day before would have been those of the Huchiun tribelet, firmly located in the Richmond-San Pablo region (see Cook 1957:141-143, 147). Only major Costanoan tribelets have been shown on Map 2, herein; approximate locations are based on baptismal dates and occasional placements given in the Mission Dolores register, but a more intensive analysis of the Bay region is needed (cf. Brown 1974; Heizer 1974a).

64. The hill Indians may have been Saclan Bay Miwok who probably held the north slopes of Mount Diablo. A less likely alternative would be that Wolwon Bay Miwok had permission from the Saclan to hunt in Concord Valley. No specific location for the Wolwon ("Volvon") is available. One of the early names for Mount Diablo was "Cerro de los Bolbones" (Cook 1960:265, Oct. 28, 1811; Harlow 1950:Map 19). Baptismal dates support a location in the hills along the south side of Mount Diablo; the tribelet center was probably near Marsh Creek Springs or Round Valley on the upper reaches of Marsh Creek. Personal names support affiliation of the Wolwon with the Bay Miwok. Kroeber (1925:Fig. 42) had earlier considered the Wolwon tribelet to be Costanoan. Most others assumed that the "Bolbon" were synonymous with the Cholbon Yokuts (Hodge 1906: Pt. 1:158; Cook 1955a:57-58). That Wolwon and Cholvon were distinct tribelets is indicated by personal names, different peak frequencies of baptism, and the appearance of both tribelet names in the same lists recorded by Choris and Chamisso (Mahr 1932:89, 99).

65. Font noted that soldiers sent by Fages two years earlier had also visited this village (Bolton 1930: Vol. III:273, Vol. IV:385). Chupcan can be identified as the village designated "b" on Font's 1777 map (Harlow 1950:Map 7). Chupcan also appears as the middle village on the south shore of Suisun Bay on the 1776 map of Cañizares (Cook 1957:Map 2). Font placed the village identifiable as Chupcan a dozen steps from the water, so Cañizares would have seen it; Cañizares' placement does suggest Port Chicago, but this position would have been visible from Willow Pass, yet neither Anza nor Font referred to any sign of villages on the shore between Karkin and Chupcan. A comparison of Font's 1777 map and the Villavicencio 1781 map leaves no doubt that the middle village on the latter map was at Antioch. The easternmost village on the 1781 map, shown just west of the grove of trees (Oak Ridge) is clearly Chupcan (Cook 1957:Map 3). The appearance of the "San Ricardo" village on the 1776 map and its absence from the 1781 map is discussed in endnote 66.

66. "San Ricardo" appears as No. 101 on Font's 1777 map (Harlow 1950:Map 7). Since this village was directly on the river bank it would have been seen by Cañizares in 1776, and therefore can be identified as the easternmost village shown on the south bank of Suisun Bay and the estuary on his 1776 map (Cook 1957:Map 2). The village does not appear on the 1781 map, presumably because Villavicencio knew from the Anza-Font diaries that "San Ricardo" was reported

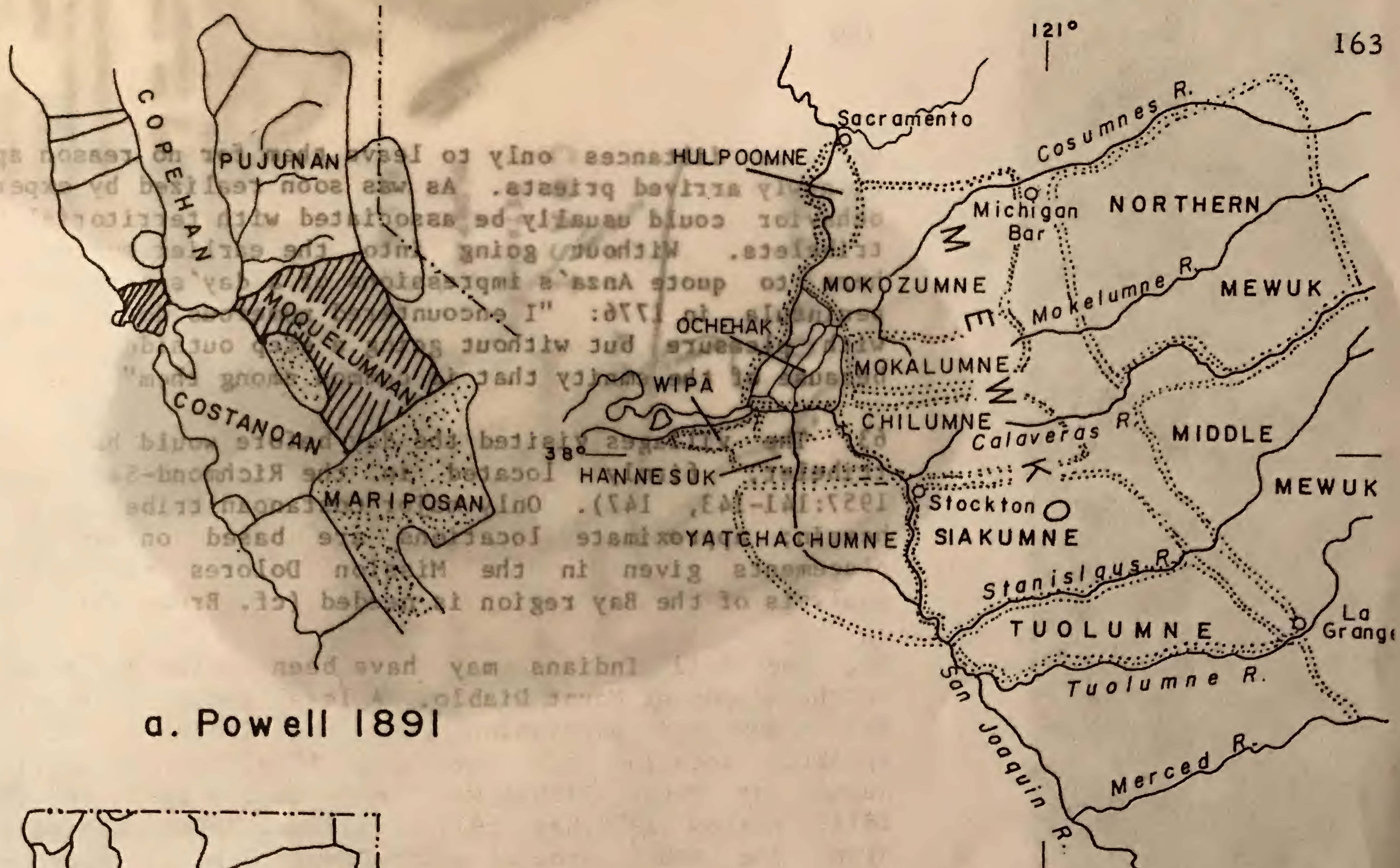


as abandoned, and the cartographer desired to show only occupied villages.

67. It is probable that the Saclan had access to Suisun Bay aboriginally. On the basis of terrain, one can suggest that the Saclan controlled Seal and Mount Diablo Creeks, and that the Saclan-Chupcan boundary probably ran along the crest of the hills just east of Port Chicago and Clayton. The last recorded Saclan baptism at Mission Dolores was in 1798, and the Chupcan may have extended their control to Walnut Creek after Saclan depopulation.

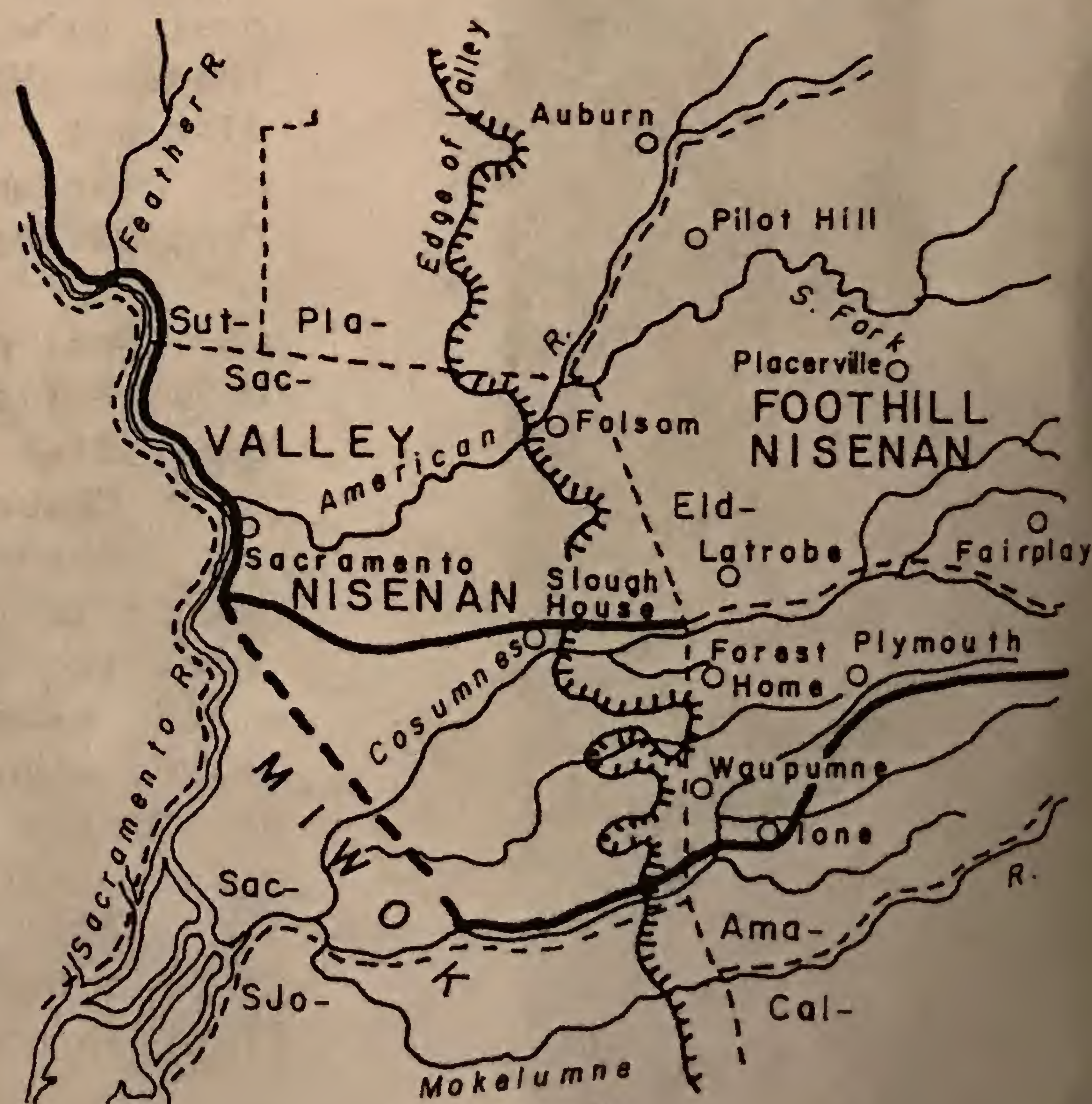
68. In his account of the same expedition, Arguello stated that the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers joined to form the "bays of the Julpunes, Ompines, and Chupcanes" which discharged through the "Strait of the Karquines" (Cook 1960:287, May 21). This grouping of Julpun, Ompin and Chupcan is in agreement with the 1824 Map, but it is clear that the explorers were using tribelet names as generalized place names.





a. Powell 1891

b. Merriam 1907



d. Beals 1933



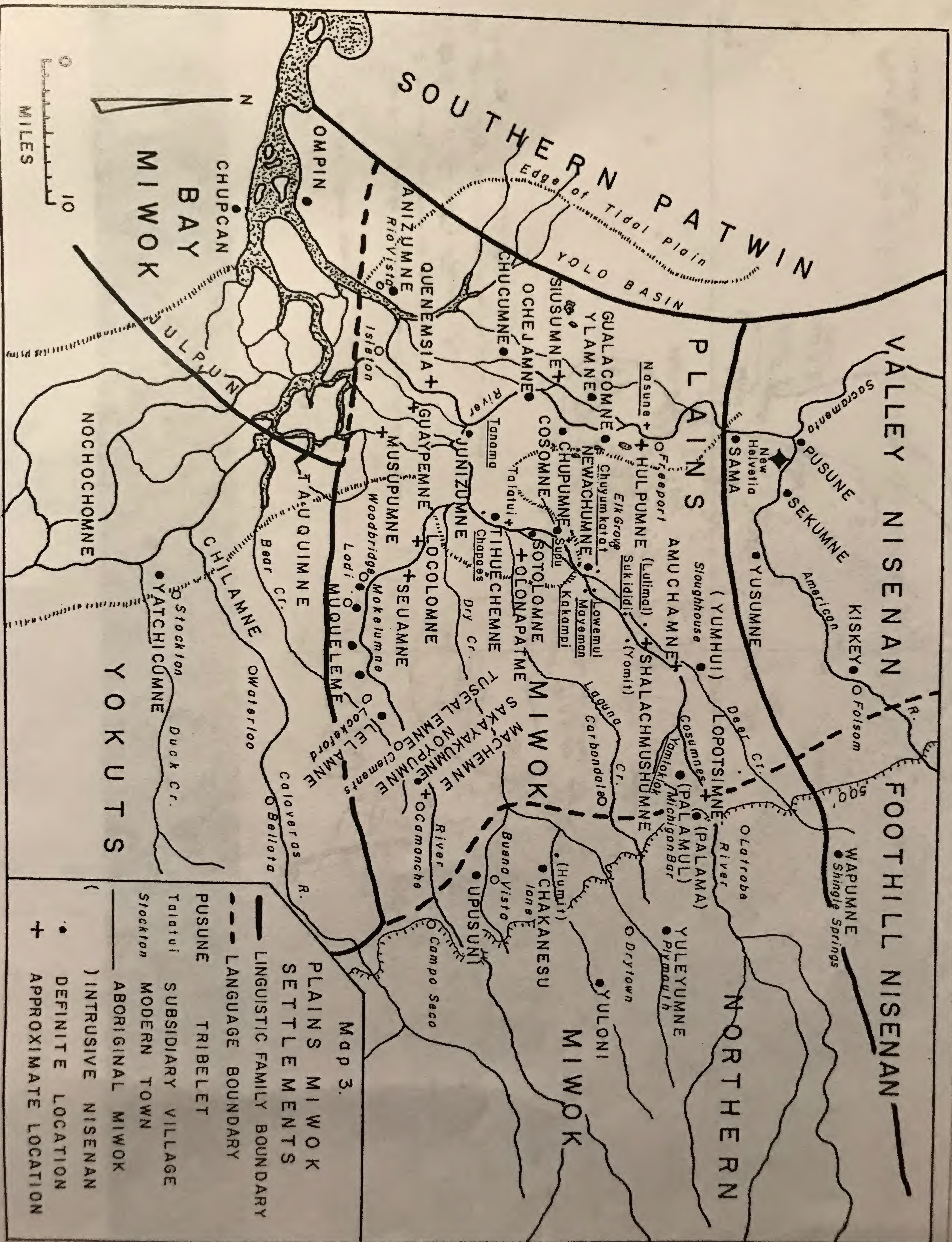
c. Kroeber 1925

MAP I. Plains Miwok Boundaries According To Various Ethnographers









Map 3.

- PLAINS MIWOK  
SETTLEMENTS
- LINGUISTIC FAMILY BOUNDARY
  - - - LANGUAGE BOUNDARY
  - PUSUNE TRIBELET
  - SUBSIDIARY VILLAGE
  - Stockton MODERN TOWN
  - ABORIGINAL MIWOK
  - ( ) INTRUSIVE NISENAN
  - DEFINITE LOCATION
  - + APPROXIMATE LOCATION



1824.

Notas.

La R. quiere decir rancho  
 La I. Yelag  
 La S con cruz, que lo de aquella rancho? ya son cristianos  
 La O sin cruz, que son son gentiles  
 La del R. en el sacam<sup>to</sup> y S. Joaquin, Rio.  
 En donde hay rancho es el unico paraje donde  
 hay tal qual agua. Lo demas no tiene



Plano topografico de la  
 Misión de S. Jose

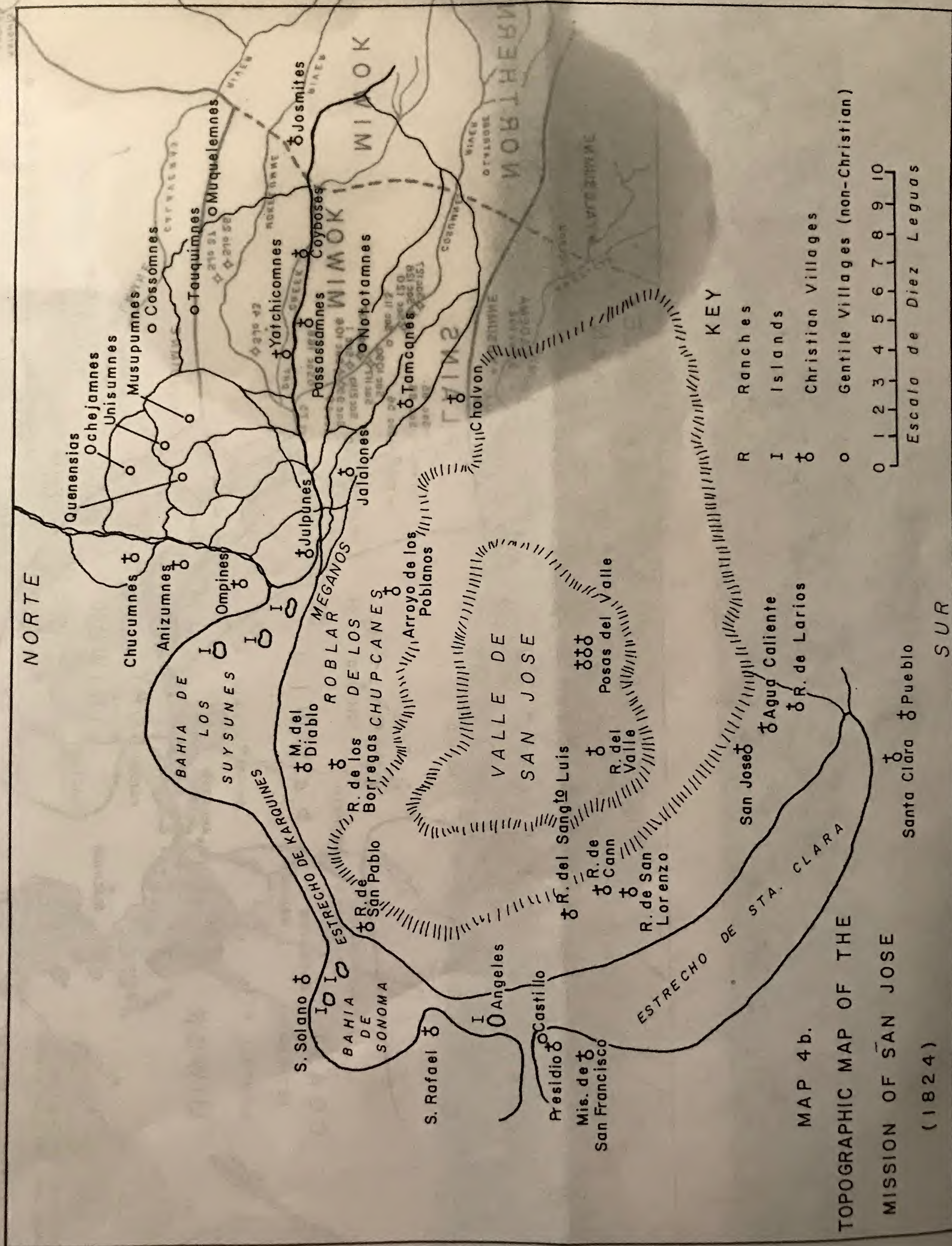
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Map 4a. Plano topografico de la Misión de San Jose  
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1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
 Escala de diez leguas







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## EDITOR'S PREFACE

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R. E. Hughes  
January 20, 1977



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## Abbreviations used:

AA	American Anthropologist
AmAnt	American Antiquity
BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin
CHSQ	California Historical Society Quarterly. San Francisco.
IJAL	International Journal of American Linguistics
SI-AR	Smithsonian Institution, Annual Report
UC-PAAE	University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology. Berkeley.
UC-AR	University of California Anthropological Records. Berkeley and Los Angeles.
UCARF-C	University of California Archaeological Research Facility, Contributions. Berkeley.
UCAS-R	University of California Archaeological Survey, Reports. Berkeley.
UC-PL	University of California Publications in Linguistics. Berkeley and Los Angeles.

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